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Published for I. Roe. Dec.r 1799

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English Nights Entertainments.

THE

History of Oroonoko;

OR,

THE ROYAL SLAVE.

WRITTEN ORIGINALLY BY MRS. BEHN,

AND

REVISED BY MRS. GRIFFITHS.

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BRITISH
MUSEUM

THE HISTORY OF OROONOKO.

I DO not pretend, in giving the hiſtory of this Royal Slave, to entertain my reader with the adventures of a feigned hero, whoſe life and fortunes fancy may manage at the poet's pleaſure; nor, in relating the truth, deſign to adorn it with any incidents, but ſuch as arrived in earneſt to him: and it ſhall come ſimply into the world, recommended by its own proper merits, and natural intrigues; there being enough of reality to ſupport it, and to render it diverting, without the addition of invention.

I was myſelf an eye-witneſs to a great part of what you will find here ſet down; and what I could not be witneſs of, I received from the mouth of the chief actor in this hiſtory, the hero himſelf, who gave us the whole tranſactions of his youth; and I ſhall omit, for brevity's ſake, a thouſand little articles of his life, which, however pleaſant to us, where hiſtory was ſcarce, and adventures very rare, yet might prove tedious and heavy to my reader, in a world where he finds diverſions for every minute, new and ſtrange. But we who were perfectly charmed with the character of this great man, were curious to gather every circumſtance of his life.

The ſcene of the laſt part of his adventures lies in a colony in America, called Surinam, in the Weſt-Indies.

The king of Coramantin was a man of an hundred and odd years old, and had no ſon, though he had many beautiful black wives: for moſt certainly there are beauties that can charm of that colour. In his younger years he had had many gallant men to his ſons, thirteen of whom died in battle, conquering when they fell; and he had only left him for his ſucceſſor, one grand-child, ſon to one of theſe dead victors, who, as ſoon as he could bear a bow in his hand, and a quiver at his back, was ſent into the field, to be trained up by one of the oldeſt generals to war; where, from his natural inclination to arms, and the occaſions given him, with the good conduct of the old general, he became, at the age of ſeventeen, one of the moſt expert captains and braveſt ſoldiers that ever ſaw the field of Mars: ſo that he was adored as the wonder of all that world, and the darling of the ſoldiers. Beſides, he was adorned with a native beauty, ſo tranſcending all thoſe of his gloomy race,

that he ſtruck an awe and reverence, even into thoſe that knew not his quality; as he did into me, who beheld him with ſurprize and wonder, when afterwards he arrived in our world.

He had ſcarce arrived at his ſeventeenth year, when, fighting by his ſide, the general was killed.

'Twas then that Oroonoko, which was his name, was proclaimed general in the old man's place: and it was at the finiſhing of that war, which had continued for two years, that the prince came to court, where he had hardly been a month together, from the time of his fifth year to that of ſeventeen: and 'twas amazing to imagine where it was he learned ſo much humanity; or to give his accompliſhments a juſter name, where it was he got that real greatneſs of ſoul, thoſe refined notions of true honour, that abſolute generoſity, and that ſoftneſs, that was capable of the higheſt paſſions of love and gallantry, whoſe objects were almoſt continually fighting men, or thoſe mangled or dead, who heard no ſounds but thoſe of war and groans. Some part of it we may attribute to the care of a Frenchman of wit and learning, who finding it turn to a very good account to be a ſort of royal tutor to this young black, and perceiving him very ready, apt, and quick of apprehenſion, took a great pleaſure to teach him morals, language and ſcience; and was for it extremely beloved and valued by him. Another reaſon was, he loved when he came from war, to ſee all the Engliſh gentlemen that traded thither; and did not only learn their language, but that of the Spaniard alſo, with whom he traded afterwards for ſlaves.

I have often ſeen and converſed with this great man, and been a witneſs to many of his mighty actions; and do aſſure my reader, the moſt illuſtrious courts could not have produced a braver perſon, both for greatneſs of courage and mind, a judgment more ſolid, a wit more quick, and a converſation more ſweet and diverting. He knew almoſt as much as if he had read much: he had heard of and admired the Romans; he had an extreme good and graceful mien, and all the civility of a well-bred great man. He had nothing of barbarity in his nature, but in all points addreſſed himſelf as if his education had been in ſome European court.

This great and juſt character of Oroonoko gave me an extreme curioſity to ſee him, eſpecially when I knew he ſpoke French and Engliſh, and that I could talk with him. But though I had heard ſo much of him, I was as greatly ſurpriſed when I ſaw him, as if I had heard nothing of him; ſo beyond all report I found him. He came into the room, and addreſſed himſelf to me, and ſome other women, with the beſt grace in the world. He was pretty tall, but of a ſhape the moſt exact that can be fancied: the moſt famous ſtatuary could not form the figure of a man more admirably turned from head to foot. His face was not of that brown ruſty black which moſt of that nation are, but a perfect ebony, or poliſhed jet. His eyes were the moſt awful that could be ſeen, and very piercing; the white of them being like ſnow, as were his teeth. His noſe was riſing and Roman, inſtead of African and flat; his mouth the

fineſt ſhaped that could be ſeen; far from thoſe great turned lips, which are ſo natural to the reſt of the negroes. The whole proportion and air of his face was ſo noble and exactly formed, that, bating his colour, there could be nothing in nature more beautiful, agreeable and handſome. There was no one grace wanting, that bears the ſtandard of true beauty. His hair came down to his ſhoulders, by the aid of art, which was by pulling it out with a quill, and keeping it combed; of which he took particular care. Nor did the perfections of his mind come ſhort of thoſe of his perſon; for his diſcourſe was admirable upon almoſt any ſubject: and whoever had heard him ſpeak, would have been convinced of their error, that all fine wit is confined to white men, eſpecially to thoſe of Chriſtendom; and would have confeſſed that Oroonoko was as capable even of reigning well, and of governing as wiſely; had as great a ſoul, as politic maxims, and was as ſenſible of power, as any prince civilized in the moſt refined ſchools of humanity and learning, or the moſt illuſtrious courts.

This prince, ſuch as I have deſcribed him, whoſe ſoul and body were ſo admirably adorned, was (while yet he was in the court of his grandfather, as I ſaid) as capable of love, as it was poſſible for a brave and gallant man to be; and in ſaying that, I have named the higheſt degree of love; for ſure great ſouls are moſt capable of that paſſion.

I have already ſaid, the old general was killed by the ſide of this prince in battle; and that Oroonoko was made general. This old dead hero had one only daughter left of his race, a beauty, that to deſcribe her truly, one need ſay only, ſhe was female to the noble male; the beautiful black Venus to our young Mars; as charming in her perſon as he, and of delicate virtues. I have ſeen a hundred white men ſighing after her, and making a thouſand vows at her feet, all in vain and unſucceſsful. And ſhe was indeed too great for any but a prince of her own nation to adore.

Oroonoko coming from the wars (which were now ended) after he had made his court to his grandfather, he thought in honour he ought to make a viſit to Imoinda, the daughter of his foſter-father, the dead general, to preſent her with thoſe ſlaves that had been taken in this laſt battle, as the trophies of her father's victories. When he came, attended by all the young ſoldiers of any merit, he was infinitely ſurpriſed at the beauty of this fair queen of night, whoſe face and perſon were ſo exceeding all he had ever beheld, that lovely modeſty with which ſhe received him, that ſoftneſs in her look and ſighs, upon the melancholy occaſion of this honour that was done her by ſo great a man as Oroonoko, and a prince of whom ſhe had heard ſuch admirable things; the awfulneſs wherewith ſhe received him, and the ſweetneſs of her words and behaviour while he ſtaid, gained a perfect conqueſt over his fierce heart, and made him feel the victor could be ſubdued. So that having made his firſt compliments, and preſented her an hundred and fifty ſlaves in fetters, he told her with his eyes, that he was not inſenſible of

her charms; while Imoinda, who wiſhed for nothing more than ſo glorious a conqueſt, was pleaſed to believe ſhe underſtood that ſilent language of new-born love; and, from that moment, put on all her additions to beauty.

The prince returned to court with quite another humour than before; and though he did not ſpeak much of the fair Imoinda, he had the pleaſure to hear all his followers ſpeak of nothing but the charms of that maid; inſomuch that, even in the preſence of the old king, they were extolling her, and heightening, if poſſible, the beauties they had found in her: ſo that nothing elſe was talked of, no other ſound was heard in every corner where there were whiſperers, but Imoinda! Imoinda!

It will be imagined Oroonoko ſtaid not long before he made his ſecond viſit; nor conſidering his quality, not much longer before he told her, he adored her. I have often heard him ſay, that he admired by what ſtrange inſpiration he came to talk things ſo ſoft, and ſo paſſionate, who never knew love, nor was uſed to the converſation of women; but (to uſe his own words) he ſaid, Moſt happily, ſome new, and, till then, unknown power inſtructed his heart and tongue in the language of love; and at the ſame time, in favour of him, inſpired Imoinda with a ſenſe of his paſſion. She was touched with what he ſaid, and returned it in ſuch anſwers as went to his very heart, with a pleaſure unknown before. He turned all his happy moments to the beſt advantage; and as he knew no vice, his flame aimed at nothing but honour, if ſuch a diſtinction may be made love; and eſpecially in that country, where men take to themſelves as many females as they can maintain; and where the only crime and ſin againſt a woman, is, to turn her off, to abandon her to want, ſhame and miſery: ſuch ill morals are only practiſed in chriſtian countries, where they prefer the bare name of religion; and, without virtue or morality, think that ſufficient. But Oroonoko was none of thoſe profeſſors; but as he had right notions of honour, ſo he made her ſuch propoſitions as were not only and barely ſuch, but, contrary to the cuſtom of his country, he made her vows, ſhe ſhould be the only woman he would poſſeſs while he lived; that no age or wrinkles ſhould incline him to change; for her ſoul would be always young; and he ſhould have an eternal idea in his mind of the charms ſhe now bore; and ſhould look into his heart for that idea, when he could find it no longer in her face.

After a thouſand aſſurances of his laſting flame, and her eternal empire over him, ſhe condeſcended to receive him for her huſband; or rather, receive him as the greateſt honour the gods could do her.

There is a certain ceremony in theſe caſes to be obſerved, which I forgot to aſk how it was performed; but it was concluded on both ſides, that, in obedience to him, the grandfather was to be firſt made acquainted with the deſign: for they pay a moſt abſolute reſignation to the monarch, eſpecially when he is a parent alſo.

On the other ſide, the old king, who had many wives, and many concubines, wanted not court-flatterers to inſinuate into his heart a

thouſand tender thoughts for this young beauty; and who repreſented her to his fancy, as the moſt charming he had ever poſſeſſed in all the long race of his numerous years. At this character, his old heart, like an extinguiſhed brand, moſt apt to take fire, felt new ſparks of love, and began to kindle; and now grown to his ſecond childhood, longed with impatience to behold this gay thing. But how he ſhould be confirmed ſhe was this wonder, before he uſed his power to call her to court, (where maiden never came, unleſs for the king's private uſe,) he was next to conſider; and while he was ſo doing, he had intelligence brought him, that Imoinda was moſt certainly miſtreſs to the prince Oroonoko. This gave him ſome chagrin: however, it gave him alſo an opportunity, one day, when the prince was a-hunting, to wait on a man of quality, as his ſlave and attendant, who ſhould go and make a preſent to Imoinda, as from the prince; he ſhould then, unknown, ſee this fair maid, and have an opportunity to hear what meſſage ſhe would return the prince for his preſent, and from thence gather the ſtate of her heart, and degree of her inclination. This was put in execution, and the old monarch ſaw, and burned: he found her all he had heard, and would not delay his happineſs, but found he ſhould have ſome obſtacle to overcome her heart; for ſhe expreſſed her ſenſe of the preſent the prince had ſent her, in terms ſo ſweet, ſo ſoft and pretty, with an air of love and joy that could not be diſſembled, inſomuch that it was paſt doubt whether ſhe loved Oroonoko entirely. This gave the old king ſome affliction; but he ſalved it with this, that the obedience the people pay their king, was not at all inferior to what they paid their gods; and what love would not oblige Imoinda to do, duty would compel her to.

He was therefore no ſooner got into his apartment, but he ſent the royal veil to Imoinda; that is the ceremony of invitation: he ſends the lady he has a mind to honour with his bed, a veil, with which ſhe is covered, and ſecured for the king's uſe; and it is death to diſobey; beſides, it is held a moſt impious diſobedience.

'Tis not to be imagined the ſurprize and grief that ſeized the lovely maid at this news and ſight. However, as delays in theſe caſes are dangerous, and pleading worſe than treaſon; trembling, and almoſt fainting, ſhe was obliged to ſuffer herſelf to be covered, and led away.

They brought her thus to court: and the king, who had cauſed a very rich bath to be prepared, was led into it, where he ſat under a canopy, in ſtate, to receive this longed-for virgin; whom he having commanded to be brought to him, they (after diſrobing her) led her to the bath, and making faſt the doors, left her to deſcend. The king, without more courtſhip, bad her throw off her mantle, and come to his arms. But Imoinda, all in tears, threw herſelf on the marble, on the brink of the bath, and beſought him to hear her. She told him, if ſhe was a maid, how proud of the glory ſhe ſhould have been, of having it in her power to oblige her king: but as by the laws he could not, and from his royal goodneſs would not

take from any man his wedded wife; ſo ſhe believed ſhe ſhould be the occaſion of making him commit a great ſin, if ſhe did not reveal her ſtate and condition; and tell him ſhe was another's, and could not be ſo happy to be his.

The king, enraged at this delay, haſtily demanded the name of the bold man that had married a woman of her degree, without his conſent. Imoinda ſeeing his eyes fierce, and his hands tremble, (whether with age and anger I know not, but ſhe fancied the laſt) almoſt repented ſhe had ſaid ſo much, for now ſhe feared the ſtorm would fall on the prince; ſhe therefore ſaid a thouſand things to appeaſe the raging of his flame, and to prepare him to hear who it was with calmneſs: but before ſhe ſpoke, he imagined who ſhe meant, but would not ſeem to do ſo, but commanded her to lay aſide her mantle, and ſuffer herſelf to receive his careſſes, or by his Gods he ſwore, that happy man whom ſhe was going to name ſhould die, though it were even Oroonoko himſelf. Therefore (ſaid he) deny this marriage, and ſwear thyſelf a maid. That (replied Imoinda) by all our powers I do; for I am not yet known to my huſband. 'Tis enough, (ſaid the king;) 'tis enough both to ſatisfy my conſcience and my heart. And riſing from his ſeat, he went and led her into the bath; it being in vain for her to reſiſt.

In this time, the prince, who was returned from hunting, went to viſit his Imoinda, but found her gone; and not only ſo, but heard ſhe had received the royal veil. This raiſed him to a ſtorm; and in his madneſs, they had much ado to ſave him from laying violent hands on himſelf. Force firſt prevailed, and then reaſon: they urged all to him, that might oppoſe his rage; but nothing weighed ſo greatly with him as the king's old age, incapable of injuring him with Imoinda. He would give way to that hope, becauſe it pleaſed him moſt, and flattered beſt his heart. Yet this ſerved not altogether to make him ceaſe his different paſſions, which ſometimes raged within him, and ſoftened into ſhowers. It was not enough to appeaſe him, to tell him, his grandfather was old, and could not that way injure him, while he retained that awful duty which the young men are uſed there to pay to their grave relations. He could not be convinced he had no cauſe to ſigh and mourn for the loſs of a miſtreſs he could not with all his ſtrength and courage retrieve; and he would often cry, Oh, my friends! were ſhe in walled cities, or confined from me in fortifications of the greateſt ſtrength; did inchantments or monſters detain her from me; I would venture through any hazard to free her: but here in the arms of a feeble old man, my youth, my violent love, my trade in arms, and all my vaſt deſire of glory, avail me nothing. Imoinda is as irrecoverably loſt to me, as if ſhe were ſnatched by the cold arms of death: Oh! ſhe is never to be retrieved. If I would wait tedious years, till fate ſhould bow the old king to his grave, even that would not leave me Imoinda free; for ſtill that cuſtom that makes it ſo vile a crime for a ſon to marry his father's wives or miſtreſſes, would hinder my happineſs; unleſs I would

either ignobly ſet an ill precedent to my ſucceſſors, or abandon my country, and fly with her to ſome unknown world who never heard our ſtory.

But it was objected to him, that his caſe was not the ſame: for Imoinda being his lawful wife by ſolemn contract, 'twas he was the injured man, and might, if he ſo pleaſed, take Imoinda back, the breach of the law being on his grandfather's ſide; and that if he could circumvent him, and redeem her from the Otan, which is the palace of the king's women, a ſort of ſeraglio, it was both juſt and lawful for him ſo to do.

This reaſoning had ſome force upon him, and he would have been comforted, but for the thought that ſhe was poſſeſſed by his grandfather. However, he loved her ſo well, that he was reſolved to believe what moſt favoured his hope, and to endeavour to learn from Imoinda's own mouth, what only ſhe could ſatisfy him in, whether ſhe was robbed of that bleſſing, which was only due to his faith and love. But as it was very hard to get a ſight of the women, (for no man ever entered into the Otan, but when the king went to entertain himſelf with ſome one of his wives or miſtreſſes; and 'twas death at any other time, for any other to go in,) ſo he knew not how to contrive to get a ſight of her.

While Oroonoko felt all the agonies of love, and ſuffered under a torment the moſt painful in the world, the old king was not exempted from his ſhare of affliction. He was troubled for having been forced, by an irreſiſtible paſſion, to rob his ſon of a treaſure, he knew, could not but be extremely dear to him; ſince ſhe was the moſt beautiful woman that ever had been ſeen; and had beſides, all the ſweetneſs and innocence of youth and modeſty, with a charm of wit ſurpaſſing all. He found, that however ſhe was forced to expoſe her lovely perſon to his withered arms, ſhe could only ſigh and weep there, and think of Oroonoko; and oftentimes could not forbear ſpeaking of him, though her life were, by cuſtom, forfeited by owning her paſſion. But ſhe ſpoke not of a lover only, but of a prince dear to himſelf, and of the praiſes of a man, who, until now, filled the old man's ſoul with joy at every recital of his bravery, or even his name. And it was this dotage on our young hero, that gave Imoinda a thouſand privileges to ſpeak of him without offending; and this condeſcenſion in the old king, that made her take the ſatisfaction of ſpeaking of him ſo very often.

Beſides, he many times enquired how the prince bore himſelf: and thoſe of whom he aſked, being entirely attached to the merits and virtues of the prince, ſtill anſwered what they thought conduced beſt to his ſervice; which was, to make the old king fancy that the prince had no more intereſt in Imoinda, and had reſigned her willingly to the pleaſure of the king: that he diverted himſelf with his mathematicians, his fortifications, his officers, and his hunting.

This pleaſed the old lover, who failed not to report theſe things again to Imoinda, that ſhe might, by the example of her young

lover, withdraw her heart, and reſt better contented in his arms. But however ſhe was forced to receive this unwelcome news, in all appearance, with unconcern and content; her heart was burſting within, and ſhe was only happy when ſhe could get alone to vent her griefs and moans with ſighs and tears.

What reports of the prince's conduct were made to the king, he thought good to juſtify, as far as poſſibly he could, by his actions; and when he appeared in the preſence of his father, he ſhewed a face not at all betraying his heart: ſo that in a little time the old man, being entirely convinced that he was no longer a lover of Imoinda, he carried him with him in his train, to the Otan, often to banquet with his miſtreſſes. But as ſoon as he entered, one day, into the apartment of Imoinda with the king, at the firſt glance from her eyes, notwithſtanding all his determined reſolution, he was ready to ſink in the place where he ſtood; and had certainly done ſo, but for the ſupport of Aboan, a young man who was next to him; which, with his change of countenance, had betrayed him, had the king chanced to look that way. And I have obſerved, it is a very great error in thoſe who laugh when one ſays, a negro can change colour: for I have ſeen them as frequently bluſh, and look pale, and that as viſibly as ever I ſaw the moſt beautiful white. And it is certain, that both theſe changes were evident, this day, in both theſe lovers; and Imoinda, who ſaw with ſome joy the change in the prince's face, and found it in her own, ſtrove to divert the king from beholding either, by a forced careſs with which ſhe met him; which was a new wound in the heart of the poor dying prince. But as ſoon as the king was buſied in looking on ſome fine thing of Imoinda's making, ſhe had time to tell the prince, with her angry, but love-darting eyes, that ſhe reſented his coldneſs, and bemoaned her own miſerable captivity. Nor were his eyes ſilent, but anſwered her's again, as much as eyes could do, inſtructed by the moſt tender and moſt paſſionate heart that ever loved: and they ſpoke ſo well, and ſo effectually, as Imoinda no longer doubted but ſhe was the only delight and darling of his ſoul. And it was this powerful language alone that in an inſtant conveyed all the thoughts of their hearts to each other; that they both found there wanted but opportunity to make them entirely happy. But when he ſaw another door opened to Onahal (a former old wife of the king's, who now had charge of Imoinda) and ſaw the proſpect of a bed of ſtate made ready, with ſweets and flowers for the dalliance of the king, who immediately led the trembling victim from his ſight into that prepared repoſe; what rage! what wild frenzies ſeized his heart! which forcing to keep within bounds, and to ſuffer without noiſe, it became the more inſupportable, and rent his ſoul with ten thouſand pains. He was forced to retire to vent his groans, where he fell down on a carpet, and lay ſtruggling a long time, and only breathing now and then, O Imoinda! when Onahal came forth to wait till the king called; and hearing ſome one ſighing in the other room, ſhe paſſed on, and found the

prince in that deplorable condition which ſhe thought needed her aid. She gave him cordials, but all in vain; till finding the nature of his diſeaſe, by his ſighs, and naming Imoinda, ſhe told him he had not ſo much cauſe as he imagined to afflict himſelf: for if he knew the king as well as ſhe did, he would not loſe a moment in jealouſy; and that ſhe was confident that Imoinda bore, at this minute, part in his affliction. Aboan was of the ſame opinion, and both together perſuaded him to re-aſſume his courage; and all ſitting down on the carpet, the prince ſaid ſo many oblinging things to Onahal, that he half perſuaded her to be of his party; and ſhe promiſed him, ſhe would thus far comply with his juſt deſires, that ſhe would let Imoinda know how faithful he was, what he ſuffered, and what he ſaid.

This diſcourſe laſted till the king called, which gave Oroonoko a certain ſatisfaction; and with the hope Onahal had made him conceive, he aſſumed a look as gay as it was poſſible a man in his circumſtances could do: and preſently after, he was called in with the reſt who waited without. The king commanded muſic to be brought; and ſeveral of his young wives and miſtreſſes came all together, by his command, to dance before him; where Imoinda performed her part with an air and grace as much ſurpaſſing all the reſt, as her beauty was above them, and received the preſent ordained as a prize. The prince was every moment more charmed with the new beauties and graces he beheld in this fair one; and while he gazed, and ſhe danced, Onahal was retired to a window with Aboan.

This Onahal, as I ſaid, was one of the caſt-miſtreſſes of the old king; and it was theſe (now paſt their beauty) that were made guardians or governantes to the new and the young ones; and who now treated the triumphing happy ones with all the ſeverity, as to liberty and freedom, that was poſſible, in revenge of the honours they rob them of; envying them thoſe ſatisfactions, thoſe gallantries and preſents, that were once made to themſelves, while youth and beauty laſted, and which they now ſaw paſs, as it were, regardleſs by, and paid only to the blooming. And certainly, nothing is more afflicting to a decayed beauty, than to behold in itſelf declining charms that were once adored; and to find thoſe careſſes paid to new beauties, to which once ſhe laid claim; to hear them whiſper, as ſhe paſſes by, That once was a delicate woman. Thoſe abandoned ladies, therefore, endeavour to revenge all the deſpights and decays of time on theſe flouriſhing happy ones: and it was this ſeverity that gave Oroonoko a thouſand fears that he ſhould never prevail with Onahal to ſee Imoinda. But, as I ſaid, ſhe was now retired to a window with Aboan.

This young man was not only one of the beſt quality, but a man extremely well made, and beautiful; and coming often to attend the king to the Otan, he had ſubdued the heart of the antiquated Onahal, which had not forgot how pleaſant it was to be in love. And though ſhe had ſome decays in her face, ſhe had none in her ſenſe and wit; ſhe was there agreeable ſtill, even to Aboan's

youth; ſo that he took pleaſure in entertaining her with diſcourſes of love. He knew alſo, that to make his court to theſe ſhe favourites, was the way to be great; theſe being the perſons that do all affairs and buſineſs at court. He had alſo obſerved, that ſhe had given him glances more tender and inviting than ſhe had done to others of his quality. And now, that he ſaw her favour could ſo abſolutely oblige the prince, he failed not to ſigh in her ear, and look with eyes all ſoft upon her, and gave her hope that ſhe had made ſome impreſſions on his heart. He found her pleaſed at this, and making a thouſand advances to him: but the ceremony ending, and the king departing, broke up the company for that day, and his converſation.

Aboan failed not that night to tell the prince of his ſucceſs, and how advantageous the ſervice of Onahal might be to his amour with Imoinda. The prince was overjoy'd with this good news, and beſought him, if it were poſſible, to careſs her ſo, as to engage her entirely; which he could not fail to do, if he comply'd with her deſires: for then (ſaid the prince) her life lying at your mercy, ſhe muſt grant you the requeſt you make in my behalf. Aboan underſtood him; and aſſured him he would make love ſo effectually, that he would defy the moſt expert miſtreſs of the art to find out that he diſſembled. And 'twas with impatience they waited the next opportunity of going to the Otan.

The wars came on, the time of taking the field approached, and 'twas impoſſible for the prince to delay his going at the head of his army to encounter the enemy; ſo that every day ſeemed a tedious year, till he ſaw his Imoinda: for he believed he could not live, if he was forced away without being ſo happy. 'Twas with impatience, therefore, that he expected the next viſit the king would make; and, according to his wiſh, it was not long.

The parley of the eyes of theſe two lovers had not paſſed ſo ſecretly, but an old jealous lover could ſpy it; or rather, he wanted not flatterers who told him they obſerved it: ſo that the prince was haſtened to the camp, and this was the laſt viſit he found he ſhould make to the Otan; he therefore urged Aboan to make the beſt of this laſt effort, and to explain himſelf ſo to Onahal, that ſhe might make way for the prince to ſpeak to Imoinda.

The whole affair being agreed on between the prince and Aboan, they attended the king, as the cuſtom was, to the Otan; where, while the whole company was taken up in beholding the dancing and antick poſtures the women made to divert the king, Onahal ſingled out Aboan, whom ſhe found moſt pliable to her wiſh. When ſhe had him where ſhe believed ſhe could not be heard, ſhe ſighed to him, and ſoftly cried, Ah, Aboan! when will you be ſenſible of my paſſion? I confeſs it with my mouth, becauſe I would not give my eyes the lye; and you have but too much already perceived they have confeſſed my flame: nor would I have you believe, that becauſe I am the abandoned miſtreſs of a king, I eſteem myſelf altogether diveſted of charms: no, Aboan, I have

ſtill a reſt of beauty enough engaging, and have learned to pleaſe too well, not to be deſirable. I can have lovers ſtill, but will have none but Aboan.—Madam, (replied the half-feigning youth,) you have already, by my eyes, found you can ſtill conquer; and I believe 'tis in pity of me you condeſcend to this kind confeſſion. But, madam, words are uſed to be ſo ſmall a part of our country courtſhip, that 'tis rare one can get ſo happy an opportunity as to tell one's heart; and thoſe few minutes we have, are forced to be ſnatched for more certain proofs of love than ſpeaking and ſighing: and ſuch I languiſh for.

He ſpoke this with ſuch a tone, that ſhe hoped it true, and could not forbear believing it: and being wholly tranſported with joy for having ſubdued the fineſt of all the king's ſubjects, ſhe took from her ears two large pearls, and commanded him to wear them in his. He would have refuſed them, crying, Madam, theſe are not the proofs of your love that I expect; 'tis opportunity, 'tis a lone hour only that can make me happy. But forcing the pearls into his hand, ſhe whiſpered ſoftly to him, Oh! do not fear a woman's invention, when love ſets her a thinking. And preſſing his hand, ſhe cried, This night you ſhall be happy. Come to the gate of the orange-grove, behind the Otan, and I will be ready about midnight to receive you. 'Twas thus agreed; and ſhe left him, that no notice might be taken of their ſpeaking together.

The ladies were ſtill dancing; and the king, laid on a carpet, with a great deal of pleaſure was beholding them, eſpecially Imoinda, who that day appeared more lovely than ever, being enlivened with the good tidings Onahal had brought her, of the conſtant paſſion the prince had for her. The prince was laid on another carpet at the other end of the room, with his eyes fixed on the object of his ſoul; and as ſhe turned or moved, ſo did they; and ſhe alone gave his eyes and ſoul their motions. Nor did Imoinda employ her eyes to any other uſe, than in beholding, with infinite pleaſure, the joy ſhe produced in thoſe of the prince. But while ſhe was more regarding him than the ſteps ſhe took, ſhe chanced to fall, and ſo near him, as, that leaping with extreme force from the carpet, he caught her in his arms as ſhe fell; and 'twas viſible to the whole preſence, the joy with which he received her. He clapſed her cloſe to his boſom, and quite forgot that reverence that was due to the miſtreſs of a king, and that puniſhment that is the reward of a boldneſs of this nature. And had not the preſence of mind of Imoinda (fonder of his ſafety than her own) befriended him, in making her ſpring from his arms, and fall into her dance again, he had at that inſtant met his death; for the old king, jealous to the laſt degree, roſe up in a rage, broke all the diverſion, and led Imoinda to her apartment, and ſent out word to the prince, to go immediately to the camp; and that if he were found another night in court, he ſhould ſuffer the death ordained for diſobedient offenders.

You may imagine how unwelcome this news was to Oroonoko,

whoſe unſeaſonable tranſport and careſs of Imoinda was blamed by all men that loved him: and now he perceived his fault; yet cried, that for ſuch another moment he would be content to die.

All the Otan was in diſorder about this accident; and Onahal was particularly concerned, becauſe on the prince's ſtay depended her happineſs; for ſhe could no longer expect that of Aboan: ſo that ere they departed, they contrived it ſo, that the prince and he ſhould both come that night to the grove of the Otan, which was all of oranges and citrons, and that there they would wait her orders.

They parted thus with grief enough 'till night, leaving the king in poſſeſſion of the lovely maid. But nothing could appeaſe the jealouſy of the old lover; he would not be impoſed on; but would have it, that Imoinda made a falſe ſtep on purpoſe to fall into Oroonoko's boſom, and that all things looked like a deſign on both ſides; and 'twas in vain ſhe proteſted her innocence: he was old and obſtinate, and left her more than half aſſur'd that his fear was true.

The king going to his apartment, ſent to know where the prince was, and if he intended to obey his command. The meſſenger returned, and told him, he found the prince penſive, and altogether unprepared for the campaign; that he lay negligently on the ground, and anſwered very little. This confirmed the jealouſy of the king, and he commanded that they ſhould very narrowly and privately watch his motions; and that he ſhould not ſtir from his apartment, but one ſpy or other ſhould be employed to watch him; ſo that the hour approaching, wherein he was to go to the citron-grove, and taking only Aboan along with him, he leaves his apartment, and was watched to the very gate of the Otan; where he was ſeen to enter, and where they left him, to carry back the tidings to the king.

Oroonoko and Aboan were no ſooner entered, but Onahal led the prince to the apartment of Imoinda; who, not knowing any thing of her happineſs, was laid in bed. But Onahal only left him in her chamber to make the beſt of his opportunity, and took her dear Aboan to her own; where he ſhewed the height of complaiſance for his prince, when, to give him an opportunity, he ſuffered himſelf to be careſſed by Onahal.

The prince ſoftly awakened Imoinda, who was not a little ſurpriſed with joy to find him there; and yet ſhe trembled with a thouſand fears. Nothing now afflicted him, but his ſudden departure from her; for he told her the neceſſity, and his commands; but ſhould depart ſatisfied in this, that ſince the old king had hitherto not been able to deprive him of her heart, which only belonged to him, he would for the future be leſs unhappy; ſo that, abating the ſcandal of the veil, which was no otherwiſe ſo, than that ſhe was wife to another, he believed her ſafe even in the arms of the king, and innocent; yet would he have ventured at the conqueſt of the world, and have given it all to have had her avoid that honour of receiving the royal veil. 'Twas thus, between a thouſand careſſes, that both bemoaned the hard fate of youth and beauty, ſo liable to that cruel promotion: 'twas a glory that could well have

been ſpared here, though deſired and aimed at by all the young females of that kingdom.

But while they were thus fondly employed, forgetting how time ran on, and that the dawn muſt conduct him far away from his only happineſs, they heard a great noiſe in the Otan, and unuſual voices of men; at which the prince, ſtarting from the arms of the frighted Imoinda, ran to a little battle-axe he uſed to wear by his ſide; and having not ſo much leiſure as to put on his habit, he oppoſed himſelf againſt ſome who were already opening the door: which they did with ſo much violence, that Oroonoko was not able to defend it; but was forced to cry out with a commanding voice, Whoever ye are that have the boldneſs to attempt to approach this apartment thus rudely, know that I, the prince Oroonoko, will revenge it with the certain death of him that firſt enters: therefore ſtand back, and know this place is ſacred to love and me this night; to-morrow 'tis the king's.

This he ſpoke with a voice ſo reſolved and aſſured, that they ſoon retired from the door; but cried, It is by the king's command that we are come; and being ſatisfied by thy voice, O prince! as much as if we had entered, we can report to the king the truth of all his fears, and leave thee to provide for thy own ſafety, as thou art adviſed by thy friends.

At theſe words they departed, and left the prince to take a ſhort and ſad leave of his Imoinda,; who, truſting in the ſtrength of her charms, believed ſhe ſhould appeaſe the fury of a jealous king, by ſaying ſhe was ſurpriſed, and that it was by force of arms he got into her apartment. All her concern was now for his life, and therefore ſhe haſtened him to the camp, and with much ado prevailed on him to go. Nor was it ſhe alone that prevailed; Aboan and Onahal both pleaded, and both aſſured him of a lye that ſhould be well enough contrived to ſecure Imoinda. So that at laſt, with a heart ſad as death, Oroonoko departed, and took his way to the camp.

It was not long after, the king in perſon came to the Otan; where beholding Imoinda, with rage in his eyes, he upbraided her wickedneſs and perfidy; and threatening her royal lover, ſhe fell on her face at his feet, bedewing the floor with her tears, and imploring his pardon for a fault which ſhe had not with her will committed, as Onahal, who was alſo proſtrate with her, could teſtify; that unknown to her, he had broke into her apartment. She ſpoke this much againſt her conſcience; but to ſave her own life, it was abſolutely neceſſary ſhe ſhould feign this falſity. She knew it could not injure the prince, he being fled to an army that would ſtand by him againſt any injuries that ſhould aſſault him. However, this excuſe of Imoinda's changed the meaſures of his revenge; and whereas before he deſigned to be himſelf her executioner, he now reſolved ſhe ſhould not die. Nor would he reſign her to his grandſon, becauſe ſhe had received the royal veil: he therefore removed her from the Otan, with Onahal; whom he put into ſafe hands,

with orders they ſhould be both ſold off as ſlaves to another country, either chriſtian or heathen; it was no matter where.

This cruel ſentence, worſe than death, they implored might be reverſed; but their prayers were vain, and it was put in execution accordingly; and that with ſo much ſecrecy, that none, either without or within the Otan, knew any thing of their abſence or their deſtiny.

The old king, nevertheleſs, executed this with a great deal of reluctancy; but he believed he had made a very great conqueſt over himſelf, when he had once reſolved, and had performed what he reſolved. He believed now, that his love had been unjuſt; and that he could not expect the Gods, or Captain of the Clouds (as they call the Unknown Power) would ſuffer a better conſequence from ſo ill a cauſe. He now begins to hold Oroonoko excuſed; and to ſay, he had reaſon for what he did. And now every body could aſſure the king how paſſionately Imoinda was beloved by the prince; even thoſe confeſſed it now, who ſaid the contrary before. So that the king being old, and not able to defend himſelf in war, and having no ſons of all his race remaining alive, but only this, to maintain him on his throne; and looking on this as a man diſobliged, firſt by the rape of his miſtreſs, or rather wife, and now by depriving him wholly of her, he fearing it might make him deſperate, and do ſome cruel thing, either to himſelf or his old grandfather the offender, he began to repent him extremely of the contempt he had, in his rage, put on Imoinda. Beſides, he conſidered he ought in honour to have killed her for this offence, if it had been one. He ought to have had ſo much value and conſideration for a maid of her quality, as to have nobly put her to death, and not to have ſold her like a common ſlave; the greateſt revenge, and the moſt diſgraceful of any, and to which they a thouſand times prefer death, and implore it; as Imoinda did, but could not obtain that honour. Seeing therefore it was certain that Oroonoko would highly reſent this affront, he thought good to make ſome excuſe for his raſhneſs to him; and to that end, he ſent a meſſenger to the camp, with orders to treat with him about the matter, to gain his pardon, and endeavour to mitigate his grief: but that by no means he ſhould tell him ſhe was ſold, but ſecretly put to death; for he knew he ſhould never obtain his pardon for the other.

When the meſſenger came, he found the prince upon the point of engaging with the enemy; but as ſoon as he heard of the arrival of the meſſenger, he commanded him to his tent, where he embraced him, and received him with joy; which was ſoon abated by the downcaſt looks of the meſſenger, who was inſtantly demanded the cauſe by Oroonoko; who, impatient of delay, aſked a thouſand queſtions in a breath, and all concerning Imoinda. But there needed little return; for he could almoſt anſwer himſelf of all he demanded, from his ſight and eyes. At laſt the meſſenger, caſting himſelf at the prince's feet, and kiſſing them with all the ſubmiſſion of a man that had ſomething to implore which he dreaded to utter, beſought

him to hear with calmneſs what he had to deliver to him, and to call up all his noble and heroic courage to encounter with his words, and defend himſelf againſt the ungrateful things he had to relate. Oroonoko replied with a deep ſigh, and a languiſhing voice, I am armed againſt their worſt efforts; for I know they will tell me, Imoinda is no more; after that you may ſpare the reſt. Then, commanding him to riſe, he laid himſelf on a carpet, under a rich pavilion, and remained a good while ſilent, and was hardly heard to ſigh. When he was come a little to himſelf, the meſſenger aſked him leave to deliver that part of his embaſſy which the prince had not yet divined: and the prince cried, I permit thee. Then he told him the affliction the old king was in, for the raſhneſs he had committed in his cruelty to Imoinda; and how he deigned to aſk pardon for his offence, and to implore the prince would not ſuffer that loſs to touch his heart too ſenſibly, which now all the gods could not reſtore him, but might recompence him in glory, which he begged he would purſue; and that death, that common revenger of all injuries, would ſoon even the account between him and a feeble old man.

Oroonoko bade him return his duty to his lord and maſter: and to aſſure him, there was no account of revenge to be adjudged between them: if there was, he was the aggreſſor, and that death would be juſt, and, maugre his age, would ſee him righted; and he was contented to leave his ſhare of glory to youths more fortunate and worthy of that favour from the gods: that henceforth he would never lift a weapon, or draw a bow, but abandon the ſmall remains of his life to ſighs and tears, and the continual thoughts of what his lord and grandfather had thought good to ſend out of the world, with all that youth, that innocence and beauty.

After having ſpoken this, whatever his greateſt officers, and men of the beſt rank could do, they could not raiſe him from the carpet, or perſuade him to action, and reſolutions of life; but commanding all to retire, he ſhut himſelf into his pavilion all that day, while the enemy was ready to engage: and wondering at the delay, the whole body of the chiefs of the army then addreſſed themſelves to him, and to whom they had much ado to get admittance. They fell on their faces at the foot of his carpet, where they lay, and beſought him with earneſt prayers and tears to lead them forth to battle, and not let the enemy take advantage of them; and implored him to have regard to his glory, and to the world, that depended on his courage and conduct. But he made no other reply to all their ſupplications than this: That he had now no more buſineſs for glory; and for the world, it was a trifle not worth his care: Go, (continued he, ſighing) and divide it amongſt you, and reap with joy what you ſo vainly prize, and leave me to my more welcome deſtiny.

They then demanded what they ſhould do, and whom he would conſtitute in his room, that the confuſion of ambitious youth and power might not ruin their order, and make them a prey to the ene-

my. He replied, he would not give himſelf that trouble; but wiſhed them to chuſe the braveſt man amongſt them, let his quality or birth be what it would: For, oh, my friends! (ſays he) it is not titles make men brave or good; or birth that beſtows courage and generoſity, or makes the owner happy. Believe this, when you behold Oroonoko the moſt wretched, and abandoned by fortune, of all the creation of the gods.—So turning himſelf about, he would make no more reply to all they could urge or implore.

The army beholding their officers return unſucceſsful, with ſad faces and ominous looks, that preſaged no good luck, ſuffered a thouſand fears to take poſſeſſion of their hearts, and the enemy to come even upon them before they could provide for their ſafety by any defence: and though they were aſſured by ſome who had a mind to animate them, that they ſhould be immediately headed by the prince; and that in the mean time Aboan had orders to command as general; yet they were ſo diſmayed for want of that great example of bravery, that they could make but a very feeble reſiſtance; and at laſt, downright fled before the enemy, who purſued them to their very tents, killing them: nor could all Aboan's courage, which that day gained him immortal glory, ſhame them into a manly defence of themſelves. The guards that were left behind about the prince's tent, ſeeing the ſoldiers fly before the enemy, and ſcatter themſelves all over the plain in great diſorder, made ſuch outcries as rouſed the prince from his amorous ſlumber, in which he had remained buried for two days, without permitting any ſuſtenance to approach him. But, in ſpite of all his reſolutions, he had not the conſtancy of grief to that degree, as to make him inſenſible of the danger of his army; and in that inſtant he leaped from his couch, and cried, Come, if we muſt die, let us meet Death the nobleſt way; and it will be more like Oroonoko to encounter him at an army's head, oppoſing the torrent of a conquering foe, than lazily on a couch to wait his lingering pleaſure, and die every moment by a thouſand racking thoughts; or be tamely taken by an enemy, and led a whining, love-ſick ſlave to adorn the triumphs of Jamoan, that young victor, who already is entered beyond the limits I have preſcribed him.

While he was ſpeaking, he ſuffered his people to dreſs him for the field; and ſallying out of his pavilion, with more life and vigour in his countenance than ever he ſhewed, he appeared like ſome divine power deſcended to ſave his country from deſtruction: and his people had purpoſely put on him all things that might make him ſhine with moſt ſplendor, to ſtrike a reverend awe into the beholders. He flew into the thickeſt of thoſe that were purſuing his men; and being animated with deſpair, he fought as if he came on purpoſe to die, and did ſuch things as will not be believed that human ſtrength could perform; and ſuch as ſoon inſpired all the reſt with new courage, and new ardour. And now it was they began to fight indeed; and ſo, as if they would not be out-done even by their adored hero; who turning the tide of the victory, changing abſolutely the fate of the day, gained an entire conqueſt; and Orco-

noko having the good fortune to ſingle out Jamoan, he took him priſoner with his own hand, having wounded him almoſt to death.

This Jamoan afterwards became very dear to him, being a man very gallant, and of excellent graces, and fine parts; ſo that he never put him amongſt the rank of captives, as they uſed to do without diſtinction, for the common ſale, or market, but kept him in his own court, where he retained nothing of the priſoner but the name, and returned no more into his own country: ſo great an affection he took for Oroonoko, and by a thouſand tales and adventures of love and gallantry, flattered his diſeaſe of melancholy and languiſhment, which, I have often heard him ſay, had certainly killed him, but for the converſation of this prince and Aboan, and the French governor he had from his childhood, of whom I have ſpoken before, and who was a man of admirable wit, great ingenuity and learning; all which he had infuſed into his young pupil. This Frenchman was baniſhed out of his own country for ſome heretical notions he held; and though he was a man of very little religion, yet he had admirable morals, and a brave ſoul.

After the total defeat of Jamoan's army, which all fled, or were left dead upon the place, they ſpent ſome time in the camp; Oroonoko chuſing rather to remain a while there in his tents, than to enter into a palace, or to live in a court, where he had ſo lately ſuffered ſo great a loſs. The officers, therefore, who ſaw and knew his cauſe of diſcontent, invented all ſorts of diverſions and ſports to entertain their prince: ſo that what with thoſe amuſements abroad, and others at home, that is, within their tents, with the perſuaſions, arguments, and care of his friends and ſervants that he more peculiarly prized, he wore off in time a great part of that chagrin, and torture of deſpair, which the firſt efforts of Imoinda's death had given him; inſomuch, as having received a thouſand kind embaſſies from the king, and invitations to return to court, he obeyed, though with no little reluctance; and when he did ſo, there was a viſible change in him, and for a long time he was much more melancholy than before. But time leſſens all extremes, and reduces them to mediums; but no beauties, though all endeavoured it, could engage him in any ſort of amour, though he had all the invitations to it, both from his own youth, and the ambitious deſigns of others.

Oroonoko was no ſooner returned from this laſt conqueſt, and received at court with all the joy and magnificence that could be expreſſed to a young victor, who was not only returned triumphant, but beloved like a deity, than there arrived in the port an Engliſh ſhip.

The maſter of it had often before been in theſe countries, and was very well known to Oroonoko, with whom he had trafficked for ſlaves, and had uſed to do the ſame with his predeceſſors.

This commander was a man of a finer ſort of addreſs and converſation, better bred, and more engaging, than moſt of that ſort of men are; ſo that he ſeemed rather never to have been bred out of a court, than almoſt all his life at ſea. This captain, therefore,

was always better received at court, than moſt of the traders to thoſe countries were; and eſpecially by Oroonoko, who was more civilized, according to the European mode, than any other had been, and took more delight in the white nations; and, above all, in men of parts and wit. To this captain he ſold abundance of his ſlaves; and for the favour and eſteem he had for him, made him many preſents, and obliged him to ſtay at court as long as poſſibly he could: which the captain ſeemed to take as a very great honour done him, entertaining the prince every day with globes and maps, and mathematical diſcourſes and inſtruments; eating, drinking, hunting, and living with him with ſo much familiarity, that it was not to be doubted but he had gained very greatly upon the heart of this gallant young man. And the captain, in return for all theſe mighty favours, beſought the prince to honour his veſſel with his preſence ſome day or other at dinner, before he ſhould ſet ſail; which he condeſcended to accept, and appointed his day. The captain, on his part, failed not to have all things in a readineſs, in the moſt magnificent order he could poſſibly: and the day being come, the captain in his boat, richly adorned with carpets and velvet cuſhions, rowed to the ſhore to receive the prince, with another long-boat, where was placed all his muſic and trumpets, with which Oroonoko was extremely delighted; who met him on the ſhore, attended by his French governor, Jamoan, Aboan, and about an hundred of the nobleſt of the youths of the court: and after they had firſt carried the prince on board, the boats fetched the reſt; where they found a very ſplendid treat, with all ſorts of fine wines; and were as well entertained, as it was poſſible in ſuch a place to be.

The prince having drank hard of punch, and ſeveral ſorts of wine, as did all the reſt, (for great care was taken they ſhould want nothing of that part of the entertainment,) was very merry, and in great admiration of the ſhip, for he had never been in one before; ſo that he was curious of beholding every place where he decently might deſcend. The reſt, no leſs curious, who were not quite overcome with drinking, rambled at their pleaſure fore and aft, as their fancies guided them: ſo that the captain, who had well laid his deſign before, gave the word, and ſeized on all his gueſts; they clapping great irons ſuddenly on the prince, when he had leaped down into the hold, to view that part of the veſſel; and locking him faſt down, ſecured him. The ſame treachery was uſed to all the reſt; and all in one inſtant, in ſeveral places of the ſhip, were faſt in irons, and betrayed to ſlavery. That great deſign over, they ſet all hands at work to hoiſt ſail; and with as treacherous as fair a wind, they made from the ſhore with this innocent and glorious prize, who thought of nothing leſs than ſuch an entertainment.

Some have commended this act, as brave in the captain; but I will ſpare my ſenſe of it, and leave it to my reader to judge as he pleaſes. It may be eaſily gueſſed, in what manner the prince reſented this indignity, who may be beſt reſembled to a lion taken in

a toil; ſo he raged, ſo he ſtruggled for liberty, but all in vain: and they had ſo wiſely managed his fetters, that he could not uſe a hand in his defence, to quit himſelf of a life that would by no means endure ſlavery; nor could he move from the place where he was tied, to any ſolid part of the ſhip, againſt which he might have beat his head, and have finiſhed his diſgrace that way. So that being deprived of all other means, he reſolved to periſh for want of food; and pleaſed at laſt with that thought, and toiled and tired by rage and indignation, he laid himſelf down, and ſullenly reſolved upon dying, and refuſed all things that were brought him.

This did not a little vex the captain: and the more ſo, becauſe he found almoſt all of them of the ſame humour; ſo that the loſs of ſo many brave ſlaves, ſo tall and goodly to behold, would have been very conſiderable: he therefore ordered one to go from him (for he would not be ſeen himſelf) to Oroonoko, and to aſſure him, he was afflicted for having raſhly done ſo inhoſpitable a deed, and which could not be now remedied, ſince they were far from ſhore; but ſince he reſented it in ſo high a nature, he aſſured him he would revoke his reſolution, and ſet both him and his friends aſhore on the next land they ſhould touch at: and of this the meſſenger gave him his oath, provided he would reſolve to live. And Oroonoko, whoſe honour was ſuch, that he had never violated his word in his life, much leſs a ſolemn aſſeveration, believed in an inſtant what this man ſaid; but replied, he expected, for a confirmation of this, to have his ſhameful fetters diſmiſſed. This demand was carried to the captain; who returned him anſwer, that the offence had been ſo great which he had put upon the prince, that he durſt not truſt him with liberty while he remained in the ſhip, for fear, leſt by a valour natural to him, and a revenge that would animate that valour, he might commit ſome outrage fatal to himſelf, and the king his maſter, to whom the veſſel did belong. To this Oroonoko replied, he would engage his honour to behave himſelf in all friendly order and manner, and obey the command of the captain, as he was lord of the king's veſſel, and general of thoſe men under his command.

This was delivered to the ſtill doubting captain, who could not reſolve to truſt a heathen, he ſaid, upon his parole, a man that had no ſenſe or notion of the God that he worſhipped. Oroonoko then replied, he was very ſorry to hear that the captain pretended to the knowledge and worſhip of any Gods, who had taught him no better principles, than not to credit as he would be credited; but they told him, the difference of their faith occaſioned that diſtruſt: for the captain had proteſted to him upon the word of a Chriſtian, and ſworn in the name of a great God, which if he ſhould violate, he muſt expect eternal torments in the world to come.—Is that all the obligation he has to be juſt to his oath? (replied Oroonoko.) Let him know, I ſwear by my honour; which to violate, would not only render me contemptible and deſpiſed by all brave and honeſt men, and ſo give myſelf perpetual pain, but it would be eternally

offending and diſpleaſing all mankind; harming, betraying, circumventing, and outraging all men. But puniſhments hereafter are ſuffered by one's ſelf; and the world takes no cognizance whether this God has revenged them or not, 'tis done ſo ſecretly, and deferred ſo long; while the man of no honour ſuffers every moment the ſcorn and contempt of the honeſter world, and dies every day ignominiouſly in his fame, which is more valuable than life. I ſpeak not this to move belief, but to ſhew how you miſtake, when you imagine, that he who will violate his honour, will keep his word with his gods. So, turning from him with a diſdainful ſmile, he refuſed to anſwer him, when he urged him to know what anſwer he ſhould carry back to his captain; ſo that he departed without ſaying any more.

The captain pondering and conſulting what to do, it was concluded, that nothing but Oroonoko's liberty would encourage any of the reſt to eat, except the Frenchman, whom the captain could not pretend to keep priſoner; but only told him he was ſecured, becauſe he might act ſomething in favour of the prince; but that he ſhould be freed as ſoon as they came to land. So that they concluded it wholly neceſſary to free the prince from his irons, that he might ſhew himſelf to the reſt: that they might have an eye upon him, and that they could not fear a ſingle man.

This being reſolved, to make the obligation the greater, the captain himſelf went to Oroonoko; where, after many compliments, and aſſurances of what he had already promiſed, he receiving from the prince his parole, and his hand, for his good behaviour, diſmiſſed his irons, and brought him to his own cabin; where, after having treated and repoſed him a while, (for he had neither eat nor ſlept in four days before,) he beſought him to viſit thoſe obſtinate people in chains, who refuſed all manner of ſuſtenance; and intreated him to oblige them to eat, and aſſure them of their liberty the firſt opportunity.

Oroonoko, who was too generous not to give credit to his words, ſhowed himſelf to his people, who were tranſported with exceſs of joy at the ſight of their darling prince; falling at his feet, and kiſſing and embracing them; believing, as ſome divine oracle, all he aſſured them. But he beſought them to bear their chains with that bravery that became thoſe whom he had ſeen act ſo nobly in arms; and that they could not give him greater proofs of their love and friendſhip, ſince it was all the ſecurity the captain (his friend) could have againſt the revenge, he ſaid, they might poſſibly juſtly take for the injuries ſuſtained by him. And they all, with one accord, aſſured him, that they could not ſuffer enough, when it was for his repoſe and ſafety.

After this, they no longer refuſed to eat, but took what was brought them, and were pleaſed with their captivity, ſince by it they hoped to redeem the prince, who, all the reſt of his voyage, was treated with all the reſpect due to his birth, though nothing could divert his melancholy; and he would often ſigh for Imoinda, and

think this a punishment due to his misfortune, in having left that noble maid behind him, that fatal night, in the Otan, when he fled to the camp.

Possessed with a thousand thoughts of past joys with this fair young person, and a thousand griefs for her eternal loss, he endured a tedious voyage, and at last arrived at the mouth of the river of Surinam, a colony belonging to the king of England, and where they were to deliver some part of their slaves. There the merchants and gentlemen of the country going on board, to demand those lots of slaves they had already agreed on; and, amongst those, the overseers of those plantations where I then chanced to be; the captain, who had given the word, ordered his men to bring up those noble slaves in fetters, whom I have spoken of; and having put them, some in one, and some in other lots, with women and children, (which they call Pickaninies,) they sold them off as slaves to several merchants and gentlemen; not putting any two in one lot, because they would separate them far from each other; not daring to trust them together, lest rage and courage should put them upon contriving some great action, to the ruin of the colony.

Oroonoko was first seized on, and sold to our overseer, who had the first lot, with seventeen more of all sorts and sizes, but not one of quality with him. When he saw this, he found what they meant; for, as I said, he understood English pretty well: and being wholly unarmed and defenceless, so it was in vain to make any resistance, he only beheld the captain with a look all fierce and disdainful, upbraiding him with eyes that forced blushes on his guilty cheeks; and cried, in passing over the side of the ship, Farewell, Sir; it is worth my sufferings to gain so true a knowledge, both of you, and of your gods, by whom you swear. And desiring those that held him to forbear their pains, and telling them he would make no resistance, he cried, Come, my fellow-slaves, let us descend, and see if we can meet with more honour and honesty in the next world we shall touch upon. So he nimbly leapt into the boat, and shewing no more concern, suffered himself to be rowed up the river, with his seventeen companions.

The gentleman that bought him was a young Cornish gentleman, whose name was Trefry; a man of great wit and learning, and was carried into those parts by the Lord ——— Governor, to manage all his affairs. He reflecting on the last words of Oroonoko to the captain, and beholding the richness of his vest, no sooner came into the boat, but he fixed his eyes on him; and finding something extraordinary in his face, his shape and mien, a greatness of look, and haughtiness in his air, and that he spoke English, had a mind to enquire into his quality and fortune; which, though Oroonoko endeavoured to hide, by only confessing he was above the rank of common slaves, Trefry soon found he was yet something greater than he confessed; and from that moment began to conceive so vast an esteem for him, that he ever after loved him as his brother, and shewed him all the civilities due to so great a man.

Trefry was a very good mathematician, and a linguiſt; could ſpeak French and Spaniſh; and in the three days they remained in the boat, (for ſo long were they going from the ſhip to the plantation,) he entertained Oroonoko ſo agreeably with his art and diſcourſe, that he was no leſs pleaſed with Trefry, than he was with the prince; and he thought himſelf, at leaſt, fortunate in this, that ſince he was a ſlave, he had a man of ſuch excellent wit and parts for a maſter. So that before they had finiſhed their voyage up the river, he made no ſcruple of declaring to Trefry all his fortunes, and moſt part of what I have here related, and put himſelf wholly into the hands of his new friend, who he found reſented all the injuries that were done him, and was charmed with the greatneſs of his actions; which was recited with ſuch modeſty and delicate ſenſe, as wholly ſubdued him to his intereſt. And he promiſed him, on his word and honour, if he could find the means, to re-conduct him to his own country again; aſſuring him, he had a perfect abhorence of ſo diſhonourable an action; and that he would ſooner have died, than have been the author of ſuch a perfidy. He found the prince was very much concerned to know what became of his friends, and how they took their ſlavery; and Trefry promiſed that he ſhould have an account of them.

Though, as Oroonoko afterwards ſaid, he had little reaſon to credit the words of a Backerary *; yet he knew not why, but he ſaw a kind of ſincerity in the face of Trefry; he ſaw honeſty in his eyes, and found him wiſe and ſenſible enough to underſtand honour: for it was one of his maxims, A man of genius could not be a knave or villain.

In their paſſage up the river, they put in at ſeveral houſes for refreſhment; and ever when they landed, numbers of people would flock to behold this man: not but their eyes were daily entertained with the ſight of ſlaves; but the fame of Oroonoko was gone before him, and all the people were in admiration of his beauty. Beſides, he had a rich habit on, in which he was taken, ſo different from the reſt, and which the captain could not ſtrip him of, becauſe he was forced to ſurpriſe his perſon in the moment he ſold him. As ſoon as they approached him, they venerated and eſteemed him; his eyes inſenſibly commanded reſpect, and his behaviour inſinuated it into every ſoul. So that there was nothing talked of but this young and gallant ſlave, even by thoſe who yet knew not that he was a prince.

The Chriſtians never buy any ſlaves but they give them ſome name of their own, their native ones being likely very barbarous, and hard to pronounce; ſo that Mr. Trefry gave Oroonoko that of Cæſar: which name will live in that country as long as that (ſcarce more) glorious one of the great Roman; for it is moſt evident he wanted no part of the perſonal courage of that Cæſar, and acted things as memorable, had they been done in ſome

* A Chriſtian.

part of the world, repleniſhed with people and hiſtorians, that might have given him his due. But his misfortune was, to fall in an obſcure world, that afforded only a female pen to celebrate his fame; though I doubt not but it had lived from others endeavours, if the Dutch, who immediately after his time took that country, had not killed, baniſhed, and diſperſed all thoſe that were capable of giving the world this great man's life much better than I have done. And Mr. Trefry, who deſigned it, died before he began it, and bemoaned himſelf for not having undertook it in time.

For the future, therefore, I muſt call Oroonoko Cæſar; ſince by that name only he was known in our Weſtern World, and by that he was received on ſhore at Parham-houſe, where he was deſtined a ſlave. But if the king himſelf (God bleſs him) had come aſhore, there could not have been greater expectation by the whole plantation, and the neighbouring ones, than was on ours at that time; and he was received more like a governor than a ſlave: notwithſtanding, as the cuſtom was, they aſſigned him his portion of land, his houſe and his buſineſs in the plantation. But it was more for form, than any deſign to put him to his taſk: he endured no more of the ſlave but the name; and remained ſome days in the houſe, receiving all viſits that were made him, without ſtirring towards that part of the plantation where the negroes were.

At laſt, he would needs go and view his land, his houſe, and the buſineſs aſſigned him. But he no ſooner came to the houſes of the ſlaves, which are like a little town by itſelf, the negroes all having left work, than they all came forth to behold him, and found he was that prince who had, at ſeveral times, ſold moſt of them to theſe parts; and from the veneration they pay to great men, eſpecially if they know them, and from the ſurprize and awe they had at the ſight of him, they all caſt themſelves at his feet, crying out, in their language, Live, O king! Long live, O king! and kiſſing his feet, paid him even divine homage.

Several Engliſh gentlemen were with him, and what Mr. Trefry had told them was here confirmed; of which he himſelf before had no other witneſs than Cæſar himſelf: but he was infinitely glad to find his grandeur confirmed by the adoration of all the ſlaves.

Cæſar, troubled with their over-joy, and over-ceremony, beſought them to riſe, and to receive him as their fellow-ſlave; aſſuring them he was no better. At which they ſet up with one accord a moſt terrible and hideous mourning and condoling, which he and the Engliſh had much ado to appeaſe: but at laſt they prevailed with them, and they prepared all their barbarous muſic, and every one killed and dreſſed ſomething of his own ſtock, (for every family has their land apart, on which, at their leiſure times, they breed all eatable things,) and clubbing it together, made a moſt magnificent ſupper, inviting their grandee captain, their prince, to honour it with his preſence; which he did, and ſeveral Engliſh with him, where they all waited on him, ſome playing, others dancing before him all the time, according to the manners of their ſeveral nations.

and with unwearied induſtry endeavouring to pleaſe and delight him.

While they ſat at meat, Mr. Trefry told Cæſar, that moſt of theſe young ſlaves were in love with a fine female ſlave, whom they had had about ſix months on their land. The prince, who never heard the name of love without a ſigh, nor any mention of it without the curioſity of examining further into that tale which of all diſcourſes was moſt agreeable to him, aſked how they came to be ſo unhappy, as to be all enamoured of one fair ſlave? Trefry, who was naturally amorous, and delighted to talk of love as well as any body, proceeded to tell him, they had the moſt charming Black that ever was beheld on their plantation, about fifteen or ſixteen years old, as he gueſſed; that for his part he had done nothing but ſigh for her ever ſince ſhe came; and all the white beauties he had ſeen, never charmed him ſo abſolutely as this fine creature had done; and that no man, of any nation, ever beheld her, that did not fall in love with her; and that ſhe had all the ſlaves perpetually at her feet; and the whole country reſounded with the fame of Clemene, for ſo (ſaid he) we have chriſtened her; but ſhe denies us all with ſuch a noble diſdain, that it is a miracle to ſee, that ſhe who can give ſuch eternal deſires, ſhould be all ice and all unconcern. She is adorned with the moſt graceful modeſty that ever beautified youth; the ſofteſt ſigher—that, if ſhe were capable of love, one would ſwear ſhe languiſhed for ſome abſent happy man; and ſo retired, as if ſhe feared a rape from the God of Day, or that the breezes would ſteal kiſſes from her delicate mouth. Her taſk of of work, ſome ſighing lover every day makes it his petition to perform for her; which ſhe accepts bluſhing, and with reluctance, for fear he will aſk of her a look for a recompence, which he dares not preſume to hope; ſo great an awe ſhe ſtrikes into the hearts of her admirers. I do not wonder (replied the prince) that Clemene ſhould refuſe ſlaves, being, as you ſay, ſo beautiful; but wonder how ſhe eſcapes thoſe that can entertain her as you can do: or why, being your ſlave, you do not oblige her to yield. I confeſs (ſaid Trefry) when I have, againſt her will, entertained her with love ſo long, as to be tranſported with my paſſion even above decency, I have been ready to make uſe of thoſe advantages of ſtrength and force nature has given me: but, oh! ſhe diſarms me with that modeſty and weeping, ſo tender and ſo moving, that I retire, and thank my ſtars ſhe overcame me. The company langhed at his civility to a ſlave; and Cæſar only applauded the nobleneſs of his paſſion and nature, ſince that ſlave might be noble, or, what was better, have true notions of honour and virtue in her. Thus paſſed they this night, after having received from the ſlaves all imaginable reſpect and obdience.

The next day, Trefry aſked Cæſar to walk when the heat was allayed, and deſignedly carried him by the cottage of the fair ſlave; and told him, ſhe whom he ſpoke of laſt night lived there retired:

But (ſays he) I would not wiſh you to approach; for I am ſure you will be in love as ſoon as you behold her. Cæſar aſſured him, he was proof againſt all the charms of that ſex; and that if he imagined his heart could be ſo perfidious to love again after Imoinda, he believed he would tear it from his boſom. They had no ſooner ſpoke, but a little ſhock-dog, that Clemene had had preſented her, which ſhe took great delight in, ran out; and ſhe not knowing any body was there, ran to get it in again; but Trefry caught her by the hand, and cried, Clemene, however you fly a lover, you ought to pay ſome reſpect to this ſtranger, (pointing to Cæſar.) But ſhe, as if ſhe had reſolved never to raiſe her eyes to the face of a man again, bent them the more to the earth when he ſpoke, and gave the prince the leiſure to look the more at her. There needed no longer gazing, or conſideration, to examine who this fair creature was; he ſoon ſaw Imoinda; he ſaw her face, her ſhape, her air, her modeſty, and all that called forth his ſoul with joy at his eyes, and left his body deſtitute almoſt of life: it ſtood without motion, and for a minute knew not that it had a being; and, I believe, he, had never come to himſelf, ſo oppreſſed was he with over-joy, if he had not met with this allay, that he perceived Imoinda fall dead in the hands of Trefry. This awakened him, and he ran to her aid, and caught her in his arms, where by degrees ſhe came to herſelf; and 'tis needleſs to tell with what tranſports, what extaſies of joy, they both a while beheld each other, without ſpeaking; then ſnatched each other to their arms; then gazed again, as if they ſtill doubted whether they poſſeſſed the bleſſing they graſped: but when they recovered their ſpeech, 'tis not to be imagined what tender things they expreſſed to each other; wondering what ſtrange fate had brought them together. They ſoon informed each other of their fortunes, and equally bewailed their fate; but at the ſame time they mutually proteſted, that even fetters and ſlavery were ſoft and eaſy, and would be ſupported with joy and pleaſure, while they could be ſo happy to poſſeſs each other, and to be able to make good their vows. Cæſar ſwore he diſdained the empire of the world, while he could behold his Imoinda; and ſhe deſpiſed grandeur and pomp, thoſe vanities of her ſex, while ſhe could gaze on Oroonoko. He adored the very cottage where ſhe reſided, and ſaid that little inch of the world would give him more happineſs than all the univerſe could do; and ſhe vowed it was a palace, while adorned with the preſence of Oroonoko.

Trefry was infinitely pleaſed to find that Clemene was the fair miſtreſs of whom Cæſar had before ſpoken; and was not a little ſatisfied, that Heaven was ſo kind to the prince, as to ſweeten his misfortunes by ſo lucky an accident; and leaving the lovers to themſelves, was impatient to come down to Parham-houſe (which was on the ſame plantation) to give an account of what had happened. I was as impatient to make theſe lovers a viſit, having already made a friendſhip with Cæſar, and from his own mouth learned what I have related; which was confirmed by his French-

man, who was ſet on ſhore to ſeek his fortune, and of whom they could not make a ſlave, becauſe a Chriſtian: and he came daily to Parham-hill, to ſee and pay his reſpects to his pupil prince. So that intereſting myſelf in all that related to Cæſar, whom I had aſſured of liberty as ſoon as the governor arrived, I haſted preſently to the place where theſe lovers were, and was infinitely glad to find this beautiful young ſlave (who had already gained our eſteem for her modeſty and extraordinary prettineſs) to be the ſame I had heard Cæſar ſpeak ſo much of. Any one may imagine then we paid her a treble reſpect; and though, from her being carved in fine flowers and birds over her body, we took her to be of quality before, yet when we knew Clemene was Imoinda, we could not enough admire her.

From that happy day Cæſar took Clemene for his wife, to the general joy of all people: and there was as much magnificence as the country could afford at the celebration of this wedding; and in a very ſhort time after ſhe conceived with child, which made Cæſar even adore her, knowing he was the laſt of his great race. This new accident made him more impatient of liberty, and he was every day treating with Trefry for his and Clemene's liberty, and offered either gold, or a vaſt quantity of ſlaves, which ſhould be paid before they let him go, provided he could have any ſecurity that he ſhould go when his ranſom was paid. They fed him from day to day with promiſes, and delayed him till the lord governor ſhould come; ſo that he began to ſuſpect them of falſehood, and that they would delay him till the time of his wife's delivery, and make a ſlave of the child too; for all the breed is theirs to whom the parents belong. This thought made him very uneaſy, and his ſullenneſs gave them ſome jealouſies of him: ſo that I was obliged, by ſome perſons who feared a mutiny, (which is very fatal ſometimes in thoſe colonies, that abound ſo with ſlaves, that they exceed the whites in vaſt numbers,) to diſcourſe with Cæſar, and to give him all the ſatisfaction I poſſibly could. They knew he and Clemene were ſcarce an hour in a day from my lodgings: that they eat with me, and that I obliged them in all things I was capable. I entertained them with the lives of the Romans, and great men, which charmed him to my company; and her, with teaching her all the pretty works that I was miſtreſs of, and telling her ſtories of nuns, and endeavouring to bring her to the knowledge of the true God. Theſe converſations ſo well diverted him, that he liked the company of us women much above the men; for he could not drink, and he is but an ill companion in that country that cannot. So that obliging him to love us very well, we had all the liberty of ſpeech with him, eſpecially myſelf, whom he called his great miſtreſs: and indeed my word would go a great way with him. For theſe reaſons I had opportunity to take notice to him, that he was not ſo well pleaſed of late as he uſed to be; was more retired and thoughtful; and told him, I took it ill he ſhould ſuſpect we would break our words with him, and not permit both him and Clemen-

to return to his own kingdom, which was not ſo long a way, but when he was once on his voyage he would quickly arrive there. He made me ſome anſwers that ſhewed a doubt, which made me aſk, what advantage it could be to doubt? It would give us a fear of him, and poſſibly compel us to treat him ſo as I ſhould be very loth to behold; that is, it might occaſion his confinement. Perhaps this was not ſo luckily ſpoke of me, for I perceived he reſented that word, which I ſtrove to ſoften again in vain: however, he aſſured me, that whatſoever reſolutions he ſhould take, he would act nothing upon the white people; and as for myſelf, and thoſe upon that plantation where he was, he would ſooner forfeit his eternal liberty, and life itſelf, than lift his hand againſt his greateſt enemy on that place. He beſought me to ſuffer no fears upon his account, for he would do nothing that honour ſhould not dictate; but he accuſed himſelf for having ſuffered ſlavery ſo long; yet he charged that weakneſs on love alone, who was capable of making him neglect even glory itſelf; and for which now he reproached himſelf every moment of the day. Much more to this effect he ſpoke, with an air impatient enough to make me know he would not be long in bondage; and though he ſuffered only the name of a ſlave, and had nothing of the toil and labour of one, yet that was ſufficient to render him uneaſy; and he had been too long idle, who uſed to be always in action, and in arms. He had a ſpirit all rough and fierce, and that could not be tamed to lazy reſt: and though all endeavours were uſed to exerciſe himſelf in ſuch actions and ſports as this world afforded, as running, wreſtling, pitching the bar, hunting and fiſhing, chacing and killing tygers of a monſtrous ſize, which this continent affords in abundance; and wonderful ſnakes, ſuch as Alexander is reported to have encountered at the river of Amazons, which Cæſar took great delight to overcome; yet theſe were not actions great enough for his large ſoul, which was ſtill panting after more renowned actions.

Before I parted that day with him, I got, with much ado, a promiſe from him to reſt yet a little longer with patience, and wait the coming of the lord governor, who was every day expected on our ſhore. He aſſured me he would; and this promiſe he deſired me to know was given perfectly in complaiſance to me, in whom he had an entire confidence.

After this, I neither thought it convenient to truſt him much out of our view; nor did the country, who feared him; but with one accord it was adviſed to treat him fairly, and oblige him to remain within ſuch a compaſs; and that he ſhould be permitted, as ſeldom as could be, to go up to the plantations of the negroes; or, if he did, to be accompanied by ſome that ſhould be rather, in appearance, attendants than ſpies. Thus care was for ſome time taken, and Cæſar looked upon it as a mark of extraordinary reſpect, and was glad his diſcontent had obliged them to be more obſervant to him. He received new aſſurances from the overſeer, which was confirmed to him by the opinion of all the gentlemen of the coun-

try, who made their court to him. During this time that we had his company more frequently than hitherto we had, it may not be unpleasant to relate to you the diversions we entertained him with, or rather he us.

My stay was to be short in that country; because my father died at sea, and never arrived to possess the honour designed him, (which was lieutenant-general of six and thirty islands, besides the continent of Surinam,) nor the advantages he hoped to reap by them: so that though we were obliged to continue on our voyage, we did not intend to stay upon the place. Though, in a word, I must say thus much of it; that certainly had his late majesty, of sacred memory, but seen and known what a vast and charming world he had been master of in that continent, he would never have parted so easily with it to the Dutch. It is a continent, whose vast extent was never yet known, and may contain more noble earth than all the universe beside; for, they say, it reaches from east to west one way as far as to China, and another way to Peru. It affords all things, both for beauty and use; it is there eternal spring, always the very months of April, May, and June; the shades are perpetual, the trees bearing at once all degrees of leaves, and fruit, from blooming buds to ripe autumn: groves of oranges, lemons, citrons, figs, nutmegs, and noble aromatics, continually bearing their fragrancies: the trees appearing all like nosegays, adorned with flowers of different kinds; some all white, some purple, some scarlet, some blue, some yellow; bearing at the same time ripe fruit, and blooming young, or producing every day new. The very wood of all these trees has an intrinsic value, above common timber; for they are, when cut, of different colours, glorious to behold, and bear a price considerable, to inlay withal. Besides this, they yield rich balm and gums; so that we make our candles of such an aromatic substance, as does not only give a sufficient light, but as they burn, they cast their perfumes all about. Cedar is the common firing, and all the houses are built with it. The very meat we eat, when set on the table, if it be native, I mean of the country, perfumes the whole room; especially a little beast called an Armadillo, a thing which I can liken to nothing so well as a Rhinoceros; it is all in white armour, so jointed, that it moves as well in it, as if it had nothing on: This beast is about the bigness of a pig of six weeks old. But it were endless to give an account of all the divers wonderful and strange things that country affords, and which we took a great delight to go in search of; though those adventures are oftentimes fatal, and at least dangerous. But while we had Cæsar in our company on these designs, we feared no harm, nor suffered any.

As soon as I came into the country, the best house in it was presented me, called St. John's Hill: It stood on a vast rock of white marble, at the foot of which the river ran a vast depth down, and not to be descended on that side; the little waves still dashing and washing the foot of this rock, made the softest murmurs and purlings

in the world; and the oppoſite bank was adorned with ſuch vaſt quantities of different flowers eternally blowing, and every day and hour new, fenced behind them with lofty trees of a thouſand rare forms and colours, that the proſpect was the moſt raviſhing that fancy can create. On the edge of this white rock, towards the river, was a walk, or grove, of orange and lemon trees, about half the length of the Mall here, whoſe flowery and fruit-bearing branches met at the top, and hindered the ſun, whoſe rays are very fierce there, from entering a beam into the grove; and the cool air that came from the river, made it not only fit to entertain people in, at all the hotteſt hours of day, but refreſhed the bloſſoms, and made it ſweet and charming; and ſure the whole globe of the world cannot ſhew ſo delightful a place as this grove was: not all the gardens of boaſted Italy can produce a ſhade to outvie this, which nature had joined with art to render ſo exceeding fine; and it is a marvel to ſee how ſuch vaſt trees, as big as Engliſh oaks, could take footing on ſo ſolid a rock, and in ſo little earth as covered that rock: but all things by nature there are rare, delightful, and wonderful. But to our ſports.

Sometimes we would go ſurpriſing, and in ſearch of young tygers in their dens, watching when the old ones went forth to forage for prey; oftentimes we have been in great danger, and have fled apace for our lives, when ſurpriſed by the dams. But once, above all other times, we went on this deſign, and Cæſar was with us; who had no ſooner ſtolen a young tyger from her neſt, but going off, we encountered the dam, bearing a buttock of a cow, which ſhe had torn off with her mighty paw, and was going with it towards her den. We were only four women, Cæſar, and an Engliſh gentleman, brother to Harry Martin, the great Oliverian. We found there was no eſcaping this enraged and ravenous beaſt. However, we women fled as faſt as we could from it; but our heels had not ſaved our lives, if Cæſar had not laid down her cub, when he found the tyger quit her prey to make her ſpeed towards him; and taking Mr. Martin's ſword, deſired him to ſtand aſide, or follow the ladies. He obeyed him; and Cæſar met this monſtrous beaſt, of mighty ſize, and vaſt limbs, who came with open jaws upon him; and fixing his awful ſtern eye full upon thoſe of the beaſt, and putting himſelf into a very ſteady and good aiming poſture of defence, ran his ſword quite through her breaſt, down to her very heart, home to the hilt of the ſword. The dying beaſt ſtretched out her paw, and going to graſp his thigh, ſurpriſed with death in that very moment, did him no other harm than fixing her long nails in his fleſh very deep, feebly wounding him, but could not graſp the fleſh to tear off any. When he had done this, he hallooed to us to return; which, after ſome aſſurance of his victory, we did, and found him lugging out the ſword from the boſom of the tyger, who was laid in her blood on the ground. He took up the cub, and with an unconcern that had nothing of the joy or gladneſs of

victory, he came and laid the whelp at my feet. We all wondered at his daring, and at the bigneſs of the beaſt, which was about the ſize of an heifer, but of mighty great and ſtrong limbs.

Another time, being in the woods, he killed a tyger that had long infeſted that part, and borne away abundance of ſheep and oxen, and other things that were for the ſupport of thoſe to whom they belonged. Abundance of people aſſailed this beaſt, ſome affirming they had ſhot her with ſeveral bullets quite through the body at ſeveral times; and ſome ſwearing they had ſhot her through the very heart; and they believed ſhe was a devil rather than a mortal thing. Cæſar had often ſaid, he had a mind to encounter this monſter, and ſpoke with ſeveral gentlemen who had attempted to kill her; one crying, I ſhot her with ſo many poiſoned arrows, another with his gun in this part of her, and another in that; ſo that he remarking all the places where ſhe was ſhot, fancied ſtill he ſhould overcome her, by giving her another ſort of a wound than any had yet done; and one day ſaid (at the table) What trophies and garlands, ladies, will you make me, if I bring you home the heart of this ravenous beaſt, that eats up all your lambs and pigs?—We all promiſed he ſhould be rewarded at our hands. So making a bow, which he choſe out of a great many, he went into the wood, with two gentlemen, where he imagined this devourer to be. They had not paſſed very far into it, but they heard a voice, growling and grumbling, as if ſhe were pleaſed with ſomething ſhe was doing. When they came in view, they found her muzzling in the belly of a new killed ſheep, which ſhe had torn open; and ſeeing herſelf approached, ſhe took faſt hold of her prey with her fore paws, and caſt a very fierce raging look on Cæſar, without offering to approach him, for fear at the ſame time of loſing what ſhe had in poſſeſſion; ſo that Cæſar remained a good while only taking aim, and getting an opportunity to ſhoot her when he deſigned. 'Twas ſome time before he could accompliſh it; and to wound her, and not kill her, would but have enraged her the more, and endangered him. He had a quiver of arrows at his ſide, ſo that if one failed, he could be ſupplied: at laſt, retiring a little, he gave her an opportunity to eat, for he found ſhe was ravenous, and fell to as ſoon as ſhe ſaw him retire, being more eager of her prey, than of doing new miſchiefs; when he going ſoftly to one ſide of her, and hiding his perſon behind certain herbage, that grew high and thick, he took ſuch good aim, that, as he intended, he ſhot her juſt in the eye, and the arrow was ſent with ſo good a will, and ſo ſure a hand, that it ſtuck in her brain, and made her caper, and become mad for a moment or two; but being ſeconded by another arrow, ſhe fell dead upon the prey. Cæſar cut her open with a knife, to ſee where thoſe wounds were that had been reported to him, and why ſhe did not die of them. But I ſhall now relate a thing, that, poſſibly, will find no credit among men; becauſe it is a notion commonly received with us, that nothing can receive a wound in the heart and live: but when the heart of this courageous animal was taken out,

there were ſeven bullets of lead in it, the wounds ſeamed up with great ſcars, and ſhe lived with the bullets a great while, for it was long ſince they were ſhot; this heart the conqueror brought up to us, and it was a very great curioſity, which all the country came to ſee; and which gave Cæſar occaſion to diſcourſe of accidents in war, and ſtrange eſcapes.

At other times he would go a fiſhing; and diſcourſing on that diverſion, he found we had in that country a very ſtrange fiſh, called a numb eel, (an eel of which I have eaten,) that while it is alive, it has a quality ſo cold, that thoſe who are angling, though with a line of ever ſo great a length, with a rod at the end of it, it ſhall in the ſame minute the bait is touched by this eel, ſeize him or her that holds the rod with a numbneſs, that ſhall deprive them of ſenſe for a while; and ſome have fallen into the water, and others dropped as dead on the banks of the rivers where they ſtood, as ſoon as this fiſh touched the bait. Cæſar uſed to laugh at this, and believed it impoſſible a man could loſe his force at the touch of a fiſh; and could not underſtand that philoſophy, that a cold quality ſhould be of that nature; however, he had a great curioſity to try whether it would have the ſame effect on him it had on others, and often tried, but in vain. At laſt, the ſought-for fiſh came to the bait, as he ſtood angling on the bank; and, inſtead of throwing away the rod, or giving it a ſudden twitch out of the water, whereby he might have caught both the eel, and have diſmiſſed the rod, before it could have too much power over him, for experiment-ſake, he graſped it but the harder, and fainting, fell into the river; and being ſtill poſſeſſed of the rod, the tide carried him, ſenſeleſs as he was, a great way, till an Indian boat took him up; and perceived, when they touched him, a numbneſs ſeize them, and by that knew the rod was in his hands; which with a paddle, (that is a ſhort oar,) they ſtruck away, and ſnatched into the boat, eel and all. If Cæſar was almoſt dead with the effect of this fiſh, he was more ſo with that of the water, and they found they had much ado to bring him back to life; but at laſt they did, and brought him home, where he was in a few hours well recovered and refreſhed, and not a little aſhamed to find he ſhould be overcome by an eel, and that all the people who heard his defiance would laugh at him. But we cheered him up: and being convinced, we had the eel for ſupper, which was a quarter of an ell about, and moſt delicate meat; and was of the more value, ſince it coſt us ſo dear as almoſt the life of ſo gallant a man.

About this time we were in many mortal fears about ſome diſputes the Engliſh had with the Indians; ſo that we could ſcarce truſt ourſelves, without great numbers, to go to any Indian town, or place where they abode, for fear they ſhould fall upon us, as they did immediately after my coming away; and the place being in poſſeſſion of the Dutch, they uſed them not ſo civilly as the Engliſh; ſo that they cut in pieces all they could take, getting into houſes, and hanging up the mother and all her children about her; and

cut a footman I left behind me all in joints, and nailed them to trees.

This feud began while I was there; so that I lost half the satisfaction I proposed in seeing and visiting the Indian towns. But one day, bemoaning our misfortunes upon this account, Cæsar told us we need not fear, for if we had a mind to go, he would undertake to be our guard. Some would, but most would not adventure: about eighteen of us resolved, and took barge; and after eight days arrived near an Indian town; but, on approaching it, the hearts of some of our company failed, and they would not venture on shore: so we polled who would, and who would not. For my own part, I said, if Cæsar would I would go. He resolved; so did my brother, and my woman, a maid of good courage. Now none of us speaking the language of the people, and imagining we should have a half diversion in gazing only, and not knowing what they said, we took a fisherman that lived at the mouth of the river, who had been long an inhabitant there, and obliged him to go with us: but because he was known to the Indians, as trading among them, and being, by long living there, become a perfect Indian, in colour, we, who had a mind to surprise them by making them see something they never had seen, (that is, white people,) resolved only myself, my brother, and woman, should go: so Cæsar, the fisherman, and the rest, hiding behind some thick reeds and flowers that grew on the banks, let us pass on towards the town, which was on the banks of the river all along. A little distance from the houses, or huts, we saw some dancing, others busied in fetching and carrying water from the river. They had no sooner spied us, but they set up a loud cry, that frighted us at first: we thought it had been for those that should kill us, but it seems it was of wonder and amazement. They were all naked; and we were dressed so as is most commode for the hot countries, very glittering and rich; so that we appeared extremely fine. My own hair was cut short, and I had a taffety cap, with black feathers on my head; my brother in a stuff-suit, with silver loops and buttons, and abundance of green ribbon. This was all infinitely surprising to them; and because we saw them stand still till we approached them, we took heart and advanced, came to them, and offered them our hands; which they took, and looked on us round about, calling still for more company; who came out, all wondering, and crying out Tepeeme; taking their hair up in their hands, and spreading it wide to those they called out to; as if they would say (as indeed it signified) numberless wonders, or not to be recounted, no more than to number the hair of their heads. By degrees they grew more bold, and from gazing upon us round they touched us, laying their hands upon all the features of our faces, feeling our breasts and arms, taking up one petticoat, then wondering to see another; admiring our shoes and stockings, but more our garters, which we gave them, and they tied about their legs, being laced with silver-lace at the ends: for they much esteem any shining

things. In fine, we ſuffered them to ſurvey us as they pleaſed, and we thought they would never have done admiring us. When Cæſar and the reſt ſaw we were received with ſuch wonder, they came up to us; and finding the Indian trader whom they knew, (for it is by theſe fiſhermen, called Indian traders, we hold a commerce with them; for they love not to go far from home, and we never go to them,) when they ſaw him therefore, they ſet up a new joy, and cried in their language, Oh, here's our Tiguamy, and we ſhall know whether thoſe things can ſpeak. So advancing to him, ſome of them gave him their hands, and cried, Amora Tiguamy; which is as much as, How do you do? or, Welcome, friend, and all, with one din, began to gabble to him, and aſked him if we had ſenſe and wit? if we could talk of affairs of life and war, as they could do? if we could hunt, ſwim, and do a thouſand things they uſed to do?—He anſwered them we could. Then they invited us into their houſes, and dreſſed veniſon and buffalo for us; and going out, gathered the leaf of a tree called Sarumbo leaf, of ſix yards long, and ſpread it on the ground for a table-cloth: and cutting another in pieces, inſtead of plates, ſet us on little low Indian ſtools, which they cut off one entire piece of wood, and paint in a ſort of japanned work. They ſerve every one their meſs on theſe pieces of leaves; and it was very good, but too high ſeaſoned with pepper. When we had eat, my brother and I took out our flutes, and played to them, which gave them new wonder: and I ſoon perceived, by an admiration that is natural to theſe people, and by the extreme ignorance and ſimplicity of them, it were not difficult to eſtabliſh any unknown or extravagant religion among them, and to impoſe any notions or fictions upon them. For ſeeing a kinſman of mine ſet ſome paper on fire with a burning-glaſs, a trick they had never before ſeen, they were like to have adored him for a god, and begged he would give them the characters and figures of his name, that they might oppoſe it againſt wind and ſtorms: which he did, and they held it up in thoſe ſeaſons, and fancied it had a charm to conquer them, and kept it like a holy relique. They are very ſuperſtitious, and called him the great Peeie; that is, Prophet. They ſhewed us their Indian Peeie, a youth of about ſixteen years old, and as handſome as nature could make a man. They conſecrate a beautiful youth from his infancy, and all arts are uſed to compleat him in the fineſt manner, both in beauty and ſhape: he is bred to all the little arts and cunning they are capable of; to all the legerdemain tricks, and ſlight of hand, whereby he impoſes on the rabble; and is both a doctor in phyſic and divinity; and by theſe tricks make the ſick believe he eaſes their pains, by drawing from the afflicted part little ſerpents or odd flies, or worms, or any ſtrange thing; and though they have beſides undoubted good remedies for almoſt all their diſeaſes, they cure the patient more by fancy than by medicines, and make themſelves feared, loved, and reverenced. The young Peeie had a very young wife, who ſeeing my brother kiſs her, came run-

ning, and kiſſed me. After this, they kiſſed one another, and made it a very great jeſt, it being ſo novel: and new admiration and laughing went round the multitude, that they never will forget that ceremony, never before uſed or known. Cæſar had a mind to ſee and talk with their war captains, and we were conducted to one of their houſes, where we beheld ſeveral of the great captains, who had been at council: but ſo frightful a viſion it was to ſee them, no fancy can create; no ſad dreams can repreſent ſo dreadful a ſpectacle. For my part, I took them for hobgoblins, or fiends, rather than men. But however their ſhapes appeared, their ſouls were very humane and noble; but ſome wanted their noſes, ſome their lips, ſome both noſes and lips, ſome their ears, and others cut through each cheek, with long ſlaſhes, through which their teeth appeared: they had ſeveral other formidable wounds and ſcars, or rather diſmemberings. They had comitas or little aprons before them; and girdles of cotton, with their knives naked ſtuck in them; a bow at their back, and a quiver of arrows on their thighs; and moſt had feathers on their heads of different colours. They cried Amora Tiguamy to us, at our entrance, and were pleaſed we ſaid as much to them: they ſeated us, and gave us drink of the beſt ſort, and wondered as much as the others had done before to ſee us. Cæſar was marvelling as much at their faces, wondering how they ſhould be all ſo wounded in war: he was impatient to know how they all came by thoſe frightful marks of rage and malice, rather than wounds got in noble battle: they told, by our interpreter, that when any war was waging, two men choſen out by ſome old captain, whoſe fighting was paſt, and who could only teach the theory of war, were to ſtand in competition for the generalſhip, or great war-captain; and being brought before the old judges now paſt labour, they are aſked, What they dare do, to ſhow they are worthy to lead an army? When he who is firſt aſked, making no reply, cuts off his noſe, and throws it contemptibly on the ground; and the other does ſomething to himſelf that he thinks ſurpaſſes him, and perhaps deprives himſelf of lips and an eye: ſo they ſlaſh on till one gives out: and many have died in this debate. And 'tis by a paſſive valour they ſhew and prove their activity, a ſort of courage too brutal to be applauded by our black hero; nevertheleſs, he expreſſed his eſteem of them.

In this voyage Cæſar begat ſo good an underſtanding between the Indians and the Engliſh, that there were no more fears or heart-burnings during our ſtay, but we had a perfect, open, and free trade with them. Many things remarkable, and worthy reciting, we met with in this ſhort voyage; becauſe Cæſar made it his buſineſs to ſearch out and provide for our entertainment, eſpecially to pleaſe his dearly adored Imoinda, who was a ſharer in all our adventures; we being reſolved to make her chains as eaſy as we could, and to compliment the prince in that manner that moſt oblige him.

As we were coming up again, we met with ſome Indians of ſtrange aſpects; that is, of a larger ſize, and other ſort of features, than thoſe of our country. Our Indian ſlaves, that rowed us, aſked them ſome queſtions; but they could not underſtand us, but ſhewed us a long cotton ſtring, with ſeveral knots on it, and told us, they had been coming from the mountains ſo many moons as there were knots: they were habited in ſkins of a ſtrange beaſt, and brought along with them bags of gold duſt; which, as well as they could give us to underſtand, came ſtreaming in little ſmall channels down the high mountains, when the rains fell; and offered to be the convoy to any body, or perſons, that would go to the mountains. We carried theſe men up to Parham, where they were kept till the lord governor came: And becauſe all the country was mad to be going on this golden adventure, the governor, by his letters, commanded (for they ſent ſome of the gold to him) that a guard ſhould be ſet at the mouth of the river of Amazons, (a river ſo called, almoſt as broad as the river Thames), and prohibited all people from going up the river, it conducting to thoſe mountains of gold. But we going off for England before the project was further proſecuted, and the governor being drowned in a hurricane, either the deſign died, or the Dutch have the advantage of it; and it is to be bemoaned what his Majeſty loſt by loſing that part of America.

Though this digreſſion is a little from my ſtory, however, ſince it contains ſome proofs of the curioſity and daring of this great man, I was content to omit nothing of his character.

It was thus for ſome time we diverted him: but now Imoinda began to ſhew ſhe was with child, and did nothing but ſigh and weep for the captivity of her lord, herſelf, and the infant yet unborn; and believed, if it were ſo hard to gain the liberty of two, it would be more difficult to get that for three. Her griefs were ſo many darts in the great heart of Cæſar; and taking his opportunity, one Sunday, when all the Whites were overtaken in drink, as there were abundance of ſeveral trades, and ſlaves for four years, that inhabited among the negro houſes, and Sunday being their day of debauch, (otherwiſe they were a ſort of ſpies upon Cæſar,) he went, pretending out of goodneſs to them, to feaſt among them, and ſent all his muſic, and ordered a great treat for the whole gang, about three hundred negroes; and about an hundred and fifty were able to bear arms, ſuch as they had, which was ſufficient to do execution, with ſpirits accordingly: for the Engliſh had nothing but ruſty ſwords, that no ſtrength could draw from a ſcabbard; except the people of particular quality, who took care to oil them, and keep them in good order. The guns alſo, unleſs here and there one, or thoſe newly brought from England, would do no good or harm; for 'tis the nature of that country to ruſt and eat up iron, or any metals but gold and ſilver. And they are very expert at the bow, which the negroes and Indians are perfect maſters of.

F Cæſar having ſingled out theſe men from the women and children, made an harangue to them of the miſeries and ignominies of ſlavery; counting up all their toils and ſufferings, under ſuch loads, burdens, and drudgeries, as were fitter for beaſts than men; ſenſeleſs brutes, than human ſouls. He told them, it was not for days, months, or years, but for eternity; there were no end to be to their misfortunes: they ſuffered not like men, who might find a glory and fortitude in oppreſſion; but like dogs, that loved the whip and bell, and fawned the more they were beaten: that they had loſt the divine quality of men, and were become inſenſible aſſes, fit only to bear burthens; nay, worſe; an aſs, or dog, or horſe, having done his duty, could lie down and reſt, and work again, and while he did his duty, endured no ſtripes; but men, villainous, ſenſeleſs men, ſuch as they, toiled on all the tedious week until black Friday; and then, whether they worked or not, whether they were faulty or meriting, they promiſcuouſly, the innocent with the guilty, ſuffered the infamous whip, the ſordid ſtripes from their fellow ſlaves, until their blood trickled from all parts of their body; blood, whoſe every drop ought to be revenged with a life of ſome of thoſe tyrants that impoſe it. And why (ſaid he) my dear friends and fellow ſufferers, ſhould we be ſlaves to an unknown people? Have they vanquiſhed us nobly in fight? have they won us in honourable battle? and are we by the chance of war become their ſlaves? This would not ſo much anger a noble heart; this would not torture a ſoldier's ſoul: no, but we are bought and ſold like apes or monkies, to be the ſport of women, fools and cowards; and the ſupport of rogues and runnaways, that have abandoned their own countries for rapine, murders, theft and villanies. Do you not hear every day how they upbraid each other with infamy of life below the wildeſt ſavages? and ſhall we render obedience to ſuch a degenerate race, who have no one human virtue left to diſtinguiſh them from the vileſt creatures? Will you, I ſay, ſuffer the laſh from ſuch hands?—They all replied with one accord, No, no, no. Cæſar has ſpoke like a great captain, like a great king.

After this he would have proceeded, but was interrupted by a tall negro, of ſome more quality than the reſt: his name was Tuſcan; who bowing at the feet of Cæſar, cried, My lord, we have liſtened with joy and attention to what you have ſaid; and, were we only men, would follow ſo great a leader through the world: but O! conſider we are huſbands and parents too, and have things more dear to us than life; our wives and children, unfit for travel in thoſe impaſſable woods, mountains and bogs. We have not only difficult lands to overcome, but rivers to wade, and mountains to encounter; ravenous beaſts of prey.—To this Cæſar replied, That honour was the firſt principle in nature that was to be obeyed; but as no man would pretend to that, without a ſenſe of virtue, compaſſion, charity, love, juſtice and reaſon, he found it not inconſiſtent with that, to take equal care of their wives and children as they would of themſelves; and that he did not deſign, when he led them to

freedom and glorious liberty, that they ſhould leave that better part of themſelves to periſh by the hand of the tyrant's whip: but if there were a woman among them ſo degenerate from love and virtue, to chuſe ſlavery before the purſuit of her huſband, and with the hazard of her life to ſhare with him in his fortunes, that ſuch a one ought to be abandoned, and left a prey to the common enemy.

To which they all agreed—and bowed. After this, he ſpoke of the impaſſable woods and rivers; and convinced them, the more danger the more glory. He told them, he had heard of one Hannibal, a great captain, who cut his way through mountains of ſolid rocks; and ſhould a few ſhrubs oppoſe them, which they could fire before them? No, it was a trifling excuſe for men reſolved to die, or overcome. As for bogs, they were with a little labour filled and hardened; and the rivers could be no obſtacle, ſince they ſwam by nature, at leaſt by cuſtom, from the firſt hour of their birth: that when the children were weary, they muſt carry them by turns, and the woods and their own induſtry would afford them food. To this they all aſſented with joy.

Tuſcan then demanded, what he would do? He ſaid he would travel towards the ſea, plant a new colony, and defend it by their valour: and when they could find a ſhip, either driven by ſtreſs of weather, or guided by providence that way, they would ſeize it, and make it a prize, till it had tranſported them to their own countries: at leaſt, they ſhould be made free in his kingdom, and be eſteemed as his fellow-ſufferers, and men that had the courage and the bravery to attempt, at leaſt, for liberty; and if they died in the attempt, it would be more brave than to live in perpetual ſlavery.

They bowed and kiſſed his feet at this reſolution, and with one accord vowed to follow him to death; and that night was appointed to begin their march. They made it known to their wives, and directed them to tie their hammocks about their ſhoulders and under their arms like a ſcarf, and to lead their children that could go, and carry thoſe who could not. The wives, who pay implicit obedience to their huſbands, obeyed, and ſtayed for them where they were appointed: the men ſtayed but to furniſh themſelves with what defenſive arms they could get; and all met at the rendezvous, where Cæſar made a new encouraging ſpeech to them, and led them out.

But as they could not march far that night, on Monday early, when the overſeers went to call them all together, to go to work, they were extremely ſurpriſed, to find not one upon the place, but all fled with what baggage they had. You may imagine this news was not only ſuddenly ſpread all over the plantation, but ſoon reached the neighbouring ones; and we had by noon about 600 men, they call the militia of the country, that came to aſſiſt us in the purſuit of the fugitives: but never did one ſee ſo comical an army march forth to war. The men of any faſhion would not concern

themſelves, though it were almoſt the common cauſe; for ſuch revoltings are very ill examples, and have very fatal conſequences oftentimes in many colonies: but they had a reſpect for Cæſar; and all hands were againſt the Parhamites (as they called thoſe of the Parham-Plantation) becauſe they did not in the firſt place love the lord-governor: and ſecondly, they would have it that Cæſar was ill-uſed, and trifled with: and it is not impoſſible but ſome of the better ſort would not meddle in the matter. The deputy-governor, of whom I have no great occaſion to ſpeak well, being the moſt fawning, fair-tongued fellow in the world, and one that pretended the moſt friendſhip to Cæſar, was now the only violent man againſt him; and though he had nothing, and ſo need fear nothing, yet talked and looked bigger than any man. He was a fellow, whoſe character is fit to be mentioned with the worſt of ſlaves: this fellow would lead his army forth to meet Cæſar, or rather to purſue him. Moſt of their arms were of thoſe ſort of cruel whips they call cats with nine tails; ſome had ruſty uſeleſs guns for ſhow; others old baſket hilts, whoſe blades had never ſeen the light in this age; and others had long ſtaves and clubs. Mr. Trefry went along, rather to be a mediator than a conqueror in ſuch a battle: for he foreſaw and knew, if by fighting they put the negroes into deſpair, they were a ſort of ſullen fellows, that would drown or kill themſelves before they would yield; and he adviſed that fair means was beſt: but Byam was one that abounded in his own wit, and would take his own meaſures.

It was not hard to find theſe fugitives; for as they fled, they were forced to fire and cut the woods before them: ſo that night or day they purſued them by the light they made, and by the path they had cleared. But as ſoon as Cæſar found he was purſued, he put himſelf in a poſture of defence, placing all the women and children in the rear; and himſelf, with Tuſcan by his ſide, or next him, all promiſing to die or conquer. Encouraged thus, they never ſtood to parley, but fell on pell-mell upon the Engliſh, and killed ſome, and wounded a great many; they having recourſe to their whips, as the beſt of their weapons. And as they obſerved no order, they perplexed the enemy ſorely, with laſhing them in the eyes; and the women and children ſeeing their huſbands ſo treated, being of fearful and cowardly diſpoſitions, and hearing the Engliſh cry out, Yield, and live! Yield and be pardoned! they all run in amongſt their huſbands and fathers, and hung about them, crying out, Yield! yield! and leave Cæſar to their revenge: that by degrees the ſlaves abandoned Cæſar, and left him only Tuſcan and his heroic Imoinda, who, grown big as ſhe was, did nevertheleſs preſs near her lord, having a bow and quiver full of poiſoned arrows, which ſhe managed with ſuch dexterity, that ſhe wounded ſeveral, and ſhot the governor in the ſhoulder: of which wound he had like to have died, but that an Indian woman, his miſtreſs, ſucked the wound, and cleanſed it from the venom: but however, he ſtirred not from the place till he had parlied with Cæſar, whom he found

was reſolved to die fighting, and would not be taken; no more would Tuſcan or Imoinda. But he, more thirſting after revenge of another ſort, than that of depriving him of life, now made uſe of all his art of talking and diſſembling; and beſought Cæſar to yield himſelf upon terms which he himſelf ſhould propoſe, which ſhould be ſacredly aſſented to, and kept by him. He told him, it was not that he any longer feared him; or could believe the force of two men and a young heroine could overthrow all them, and with all the ſlaves now on their ſide alſo; but it was the vaſt eſteem he had for his perſon, the deſire he had to ſerve ſo gallant a man, and to hinder himſelf from the reproach hereafter, of having been the occaſion of the death of a prince, whoſe valour and magnanimity deſerved the empire of the world. He proteſted to him, he looked upon his action as gallant and brave, however tending to the prejudice of his lord and maſter, who would by it have loſt ſo conſiderable a number of ſlaves; that this flight of his ſhould be looked on as a heat of youth, and a raſhneſs of a too forward courage, and an unconſidered patience of liberty, and no more; and that he laboured in vain to accompliſh that which they would effectually perform as ſoon as any ſhip arrived that would touch on his coaſt: So that if you will be pleaſed (continued he) to ſurrender yourſelf, all imaginable reſpect ſhall be paid you; and yourſelf, your wife and child, if it be born here, ſhall depart out of our land.—But Cæſar would hear of no compoſition, though Byam urged, if he perſiſted, and went on with his deſign, he would inevitably periſh, either by great ſnakes, wild beaſts, or hunger; and he ought to have regard to his wife, whoſe condition required eaſe, and not the fatigues of tedious travel, where ſhe could not be ſecured from being devoured. But Cæſar told him, that there was no faith in the white men or the gods they adored, who inſtructed them in principles ſo falſe, that honeſt men could not live amongſt them; though no people profeſſed ſo much, none performed ſo little: that he knew what he had to do when he dealt with men of honour; but with them a man ought to be eternally on his guard, and never eat and drink with chriſtians without his weapon of defence in his hand; and, for his own ſecurity, never to credit one word they ſpoke. As for the raſhneſs and inconſiderateneſs of his action, he would confeſs the governor was in the right: and that he was aſhamed of what he had done, in endeavouring to make thoſe free who were by nature ſlaves; poor wretched rogues, fit to be uſed as Chriſtian tools: dogs, fit for ſuch maſters; and who only wanted to be whipped into the knowledge of the Chriſtian gods, to be the vileſt of all creeping things; to learn to worſhip ſuch deities as have not power to make them juſt, brave or honeſt: in fine, after a thouſand things of this nature, not fit here to be recited, he told Byam, he had rather die than live upon the ſame earth, with ſuch dogs. But Trefry and Byam pleaded and proteſted together ſo much, that Trefry, believing the governor to mean what he ſaid, and ſpeaking very cordially himſelf, generouſly put himſelf into Cæſar's hands, and

took him aſide; and perſuaded him, even with tears, to live, by ſurrendering himſelf, and to name his conditions. Cæſar was overcome by his wit and reaſons, in conſideration of Imoinda: and demanding what he deſired, and that it ſhould be ratified by their hands in writing, becauſe he had perceived that was the common way of contract between man and man amongſt the Whites, it was all performed; and Tuſcan's pardon was put in, and they ſurrendered to the governor, who walked peaceably down into the plantation with them, after giving orders to bury their dead. Cæſar was very much fatigued with the buſtle of the day, for he had fought like a fury; and what miſchief was done he and Tuſcan performed alone; and gave their enemies a fatal proof, that they durſt do any thing, and feared no mortal force.

But they were no ſooner arrived at the place where all the ſlaves receive their puniſhments of whipping, than they laid hands on Cæſar and Tuſcan, faint with heat and toil; and ſurpriſing them, bound them to two ſeveral ſtakes, and whipped them in a moſt deplorable and inhuman manner, rending the very fleſh from their bones, eſpecially Cæſar, who was not perceived to make any moan, or to alter his face, only to roll his eyes on the faithleſs governor, and thoſe he believed guilty, with fierceneſs and indignation; and to complete his rage, he ſaw every one of thoſe ſlaves, who but a few days before adored him as ſomething more than mortal, now had a whip to give him ſome laſhes, while he ſtrove not to break his fetters; though, if he had, it were impoſſible; but he pronounced woe and revenge from his eyes, that darted fire, which was at once both awful and terrible to behold.

When they thought they were ſufficiently revenged on him, they untied him, almoſt fainting with loſs of blood, from a thouſand wounds all over his body; from which they had rent his clothes, and led him, bleeding and naked as he was, and loaded him all over with irons; and then rubbed his wounds, to complete their cruelty, with Indian pepper, which had like to have made him raving mad; and in this condition made him ſo faſt to the ground, that he could not ſtir, if his pains and wounds would have given him leave. They ſpared Imoinda, and did not let her ſee this barbarity committed towards her lord, but carried her down to Parham, and ſhut her up; which was not in kindneſs to her, but for fear ſhe ſhould die with the ſight, or miſcarry, and then they ſhould loſe a young ſlave, and perhaps the mother.

You muſt know, that when the news were brought on Monday morning, that Cæſar had betaken himſelf to the woods, and carried with him all the negroes, we were poſſeſſed with extreme fear, which no perſuaſions could diſſipate, that he would ſecure himſelf till night, and then would come down and cut all our throats. This apprehenſion made all the females of us fly down the river to be ſecured; and while we were away they acted this cruelty; for I ſuppoſe I had authority and intereſt enough there, had I ſuſpected any

ſuch thing, to have prevented it: but we had not gone many leagues, before the news overtook us, that Cæſar was taken and whipped like a common ſlave. We met on the river with Colonel Martin, a man of great gallantry, wit, and goodneſs, and whom I have celebrated in a character of my new comedy, by his own name, in memory of ſo brave a man: he was eloquent, and, from the fineneſs of his parts, bore a great ſway over the hearts of all the colony: he was a friend to Cæſar, and reſented this falſe dealing with him very much. We carried him back to Parham, thinking to have made an accommodation. When we came, the firſt news we heard was, that the governor was dead of a wound Imoinda had given him; but it was not ſo well. But it ſeems, he would have the pleaſure of beholding the revenge he took on Cæſar; and before the cruel ceremony was finiſhed, he dropt down; and then they perceived the wound he had on his ſhoulder was by a venomed arrow, which, as I ſaid, his Indian miſtreſs healed by ſucking the wound.

We were no ſooner arrived, but we went up to the plantation to ſee Cæſar, whom we found in a very miſerable condition; and I have a thouſand times admired how he lived in ſuch tormenting pain. We ſaid all things to him, that trouble, pity, and good-nature could ſuggeſt, proteſting our innocency of the fact, and our abhorrence of ſuch cruelties; making a thouſand profeſſions and ſervices to him, and begging as many pardons for the offenders, till we ſaid ſo much, that he believed we had no hand in his ill treatment; but told us, he could never pardon Byam. As for Trefry, he confeſſed he ſaw his grief and ſorrow for his ſuffering, which he could not hinder, but was like to have been beaten down by the very ſlaves, for ſpeaking in his defence: But for Byam, who was their leader, their head——and ſhould, by his juſtice and honour, have been an example to them——for him he wiſhed to live to take a dire revenge of him; and ſaid, It had been well for me, if he had ſacrificed me, inſtead of giving me the contemptible whip. He refuſed to talk much; but begging us to give him our hands, he took them, and proteſted never to lift up his to do us any harm. He had a great reſpect for Colonel Martin, and always took his counſel like that of a parent; and aſſured him, he would obey him in any thing, but his revenge on Byam: therefore (ſaid he) for his own ſafety, let him ſpeedily diſpatch me: for if I could diſpatch myſelf, I would not, till that juſtice were done to my injured perſon. No, I would not kill myſelf, even after a whipping; but will be content to live with that infamy, and be pointed at by every grinning-ſlave, till I have compleated my revenge; and then you ſhall ſee that Oroonoko ſcorns to live with the indignity that was put on Cæſar. All we could do, could get no more words from him; and we took care to have him put immediately into a healing bath, to rid him of his pepper, and ordered a chirurgeon to annoint him with healing balm, which he ſuffered; and ſo in a little time he began to

be able to walk, and eat. We failed not to visit him every day, and to that end had him brought to an apartment at Parham.

The governor had no sooner recovered, and had heard of the menaces of Cæsar, but he called his council, who (not to disgrace them, or burlesque the government there) consisted of such notorious villains as Newgate never transported; and possibly, originally were such who understood neither the laws of God or man, and had no sort of principles to make them worthy the name of men; but at the very council-table would contradict and fight with one another, and swear so it was terrible to hear and see them. (Some of them were afterwards hanged, when the Dutch took possession of the place, others sent off in chains.) But calling these special rulers of the nation together, and requiring their counsel in this weighty affair, they all concluded that (damn them) it might be their own cases; that Cæsar ought to be made an example to all the negroes, to fright them from daring to threaten their lords and masters; that at this rate no man was safe from his own slaves; and concluded nem. con. that Cæsar should be hanged.

Trefry then thought it time to use his authority, and told Byam, his command did not extend to his lord's plantation; that Parham was as much exempt from the law as Whitehall; and they could no more to touch the servants of the lord ———, (who there represented the king's person) than they could those about the king himself; that Parham was a sanctuary; and though his lord were absent in person, his power was still in being there, which he had entrusted with him, as far as the dominion of his particular plantation reached, and all that belonged to it; the rest of the country, as Byam was lieutenant to his lord, he might exercise his tyranny upon. Trefry had others as powerful, or more, that interfered themselves for Cæsar's life, and absolutely said, he should be defended. So turning the governor and his wise council out of doors, (for they sat at Parnam-house,) we set a guard upon our lodging place, and would admit none but those we called friends to us and Cæsar.

The governor having remained wounded at Parham till his recovery was compleated, Cæsar did not know but he was still there; and indeed for the most part, his time was spent there: for he was one that loved to live at other people's expence, and if he were a day absent, he was ten present there; and used to play, and walk, and hunt, and fish with Cæsar: so that Cæsar did not at all donbt, if he once recovered strength, but he should find an opportunity of being revenged on him; though, after such a revenge, he could not hope to live: for if he escaped the fury of the English mob, who perhaps would have been glad of the occasion to have killed him, he was resolved not to survive his whipping; yet he had some tender hours, a repenting softness, which he called his fits of cowardice, wherein he struggled with love for the victory of his heart, which took part with his charming Imoinda there; but for the most part, his time was past in melancholy thoughts, and

black deſigns. He conſidered, if he ſhould do this deed, and die either in the attempt, or after it, he left his lovely Imoinda a prey, or at beſt a ſlave to the enraged multitude; his great heart could not endure that thought: perhaps, ſaid he, ſhe may be firſt raviſhed by every brute, expoſed firſt to their cruelty, and then a ſhameful death. No, he could not live a moment under that apprehenſion, too unſurmountable to be borne. Theſe were his thoughts, and his ſilent arguments with his heart, as he told us afterwards: So that now reſolving not only to kill Byam, but all thoſe he thought had enraged him, pleaſing his great heart with the fancied ſlaughter he ſhould make over the whole face of the plantation, he reſolved on a deed, that, however horrid it firſt appeared to us all, when we had heard his reaſons, we thought it brave and juſt. Being able to walk, and, as he believed, fit for the execution of his great deſign, he begged Trefry to truſt him into the air, believing a walk would do him good; which was granted him; and taking Imoinda with him, as he uſed to do in his more happy and calmer days, he led her up into a wood, where (after a thouſand ſighs, and long gazing ſilently on her face, while tears guſhed, in ſpite of him, from his eyes) he told her his deſign, firſt of killing her, then his enemies, and next himſelf, and the impoſſibility of eſcaping, and the neceſſity of dying. He found the heroic wife faſter pleading for death than he was to propoſe it, when ſhe heard his fixed reſolution; and, on her knees, beſought him not to leave her a prey to his enemies. He (grieved to death) yet pleaſed at her noble reſolution, took her up, and embracing her with all the paſſion and languiſhment of a dying lover, drew his knife to kill this treaſure of his ſoul, this pleaſure of his eyes; while tears trickled down his cheeks, hers were ſmiling with joy ſhe ſhould die by ſo noble a hand, and be ſent into her own country (for that is their notion of the next world) by him ſhe ſo tenderly loved, and truly adored in this: For wives have a reſpect for their huſbands equal to what any other people pay a deity; and when a man finds any occaſion to quit his wife, if he loves her, ſhe dies by his hand: if not, he ſells her, or ſuffers ſome other to kill her. It being thus, you may believe the deed was ſoon reſolved on; and it is not to be doubted but the parting, the eternal leave-taking of two ſuch lovers, ſo greatly born, ſo ſenſible, ſo beautiful, ſo young, and ſo fond, muſt be very moving, as the relation of it was to me afterwards.

All that love could ſay in ſuch caſes being ended, and all the intermitting irreſolutions being adjuſted, the lovely, young and adored victim laid herſelf down before the ſacrificer; while he, with a hand reſolved, and a heart-breaking within, gave the fatal ſtroke; firſt cutting her throat, and then ſevering her yet ſmiling face from that delicate body, pregnant as it was with the fruits of the tendereſt love. As ſoon as he had done, he laid the body decently on leaves and flowers, of which he made a bed, and concealed it under the ſame coverlid of nature; only her face he left yet bare to look on: but when he found ſhe was dead, and paſt all retrieve, never more to bleſs him with her eyes and ſoft language, his grief ſwelled up to

rage; he tore, he raved, he roared like ſome monſter of the wood, calling on the loved name of Imoinda. A thouſand times he turned the fatal knife that did the deed towards his own heart, with a reſolution to go immediately after her; but dire revenge, which was now a thouſand times more fierce in his ſoul than before, prevented him; and he would cry out, No; ſince I have ſacrificed Imoinda to my revenge, ſhall I loſe that glory which I have purchaſed ſo dear, at the price of the faireſt, deareſt, ſofteſt creature that ever nature made? No, No!—Then at her name grief would get the aſcendant of rage, and he would lie down by her ſide, and water her face with ſhowers of tears, which never were wont to fall from thoſe eyes; and however bent he was on his intended ſlaughter, he had not power to ſtir from the ſight of this dear object, now more beloved, and more adored than ever.

He remained in this deplorable condition for ſeven or eight days. In all this time you may believe we were in no little affliction for Cæſar and his wife. Some were of opinion he was eſcaped, never to return; others thought ſome accident had happened to him: but however, we failed not to ſend out a party of a hundred people to ſearch for him. A party of about forty went that way he took, among whom was Tuſcan, who was perfectly reconciled to Byam. They had not gone very far into the wood, when they ſmelt an unſual ſmell, as of a dead body: for ſtinks muſt be very noiſome that can be diſtinguiſhed among ſuch a quantity of natural ſweets as every inch of that land produces: ſo that they concluded they ſhould find him dead, or ſomebody that was ſo. They paſſed on towards it, as loathſome as it was, and made ſuch a ruſtling amongſt the leaves, that lie thick on the ground by continual falling, that Cæſar heard them approach; and though he had, during the ſpace of theſe eight days, endeavoured to riſe, but found he wanted ſtrength, yet looking up, and ſeeing his purſuers, he roſe, and reeled to a neighbonring tree, againſt which he fixed his back; and being within a dozen yards of thoſe that advanced and ſaw him, he called out to them, and bid them approach no nearer, if they would be ſafe. So that they ſtood ſtill, and hardly believing their eyes, that would perſuade them that it was Cæſar that ſpoke to them, ſo much he was altered. They aſked him, what he had done with his wife, for they ſmelt a ſtink that almoſt ſtruck them dead. He pointing to the dead body, ſighing, cried,—Behold her there.—They put off the flowers that covered her with their ſticks, and found ſhe was killed, and cryed out, Oh, monſter, that haſt murdered thy wife! Then aſking him, Why he did ſo cruel a deed?—He replied, he had no leiſure to anſwer impertinent queſtions. You may go back (continued he) and tell the faithleſs governor, he may thank fortune that I am breathing my laſt; and that my arm is too feeble to obey my heart, in what it had deſigned him: But his tongue faultering and trembling, he could ſcarce end what he was ſaying.—The Engliſh taking advantage of his weakneſs, cryed, Let us take him alive by all means.—He heard them; and as if he had revived from the fainting, or a dream,

he cried out, No, gentlemen, you are deceived; you will find no more Cæſars to be whipt; no more find a faith in me: feeble as you think me, I have ſtrength yet left to ſecure me from a ſecond indignity. They ſwore all anew; and he only ſhook his head, and beheld them with ſcorn. They then cried out, Who will venture on this ſingle man? Will nobody? They all ſtood ſilent, while Cæſar replied, Fatal will be the attempt of the firſt adventurer, let him aſſure himſelf, (and at that word held up his knife in a threatening poſture.) Look ye, ye faithleſs crew, ſaid he, it is not life I ſeek, nor am I afraid of dying, (and at that word, cut a piece of fleſh from his own throat, and threw it at them;) yet ſtill I would live if I could, till I had perfected my revenge: But oh! it cannot be; I feel life gliding from my eyes and heart; and if I make not haſte, I ſhall fall a victim to the ſhameful whip. At that, he ripped up his own belly, and took his bowels, and pulled them out, with what ſtrength he could; while ſome, on their knees, imploring, beſought him to hold his hand. But when they ſaw him tottering, they cried out, Will none venture on him? A bold Engliſhman cried, Yes, if he were the devil, (taking courage when he ſaw him almoſt dead,) and ſwearing a horrid oath for his farewell to the world, he ruſhed on him. Cæſar with his armed hand, met him ſo fairly, as ſtruck him to the heart, and he fell dead at his feet. Tuſcan ſeeing that, cried out, I love thee, O Cæſar! and therefore will not let thee die, if poſſible; and running to him, took him in his arms; but, at the ſame, warding a blow that Cæſar made at his boſom, he received it quite through his arm; and Cæſar not having ſtrength to pluck the knife forth, though he attempted it, Tuſcan neither pulled it out himſelf, nor ſuffered it to be pulled out, but came down with it ſticking in his arm; and the reaſon he gave for it was, becauſe the air ſhould not get into the wound. They put their hands a-croſs, and carried Cæſar between ſix of them, fainting as he was, and as they thought, dead, or juſt dying; and they brought him to Parham, and laid him on a couch, and had the chirurgeon immediately to him, who dreſt his wounds, and ſewed up his belly, and uſed means to reſtore him to life, which they effected. We ran all to ſee him; and tho' before we thought him ſo beautiful a ſight, he was now ſo altered, that his face was like a death's-head blacked over, nothing but teeth and eye-holes. For ſome days we ſuffered nobody to ſpeak to him, but cauſed cordials to be poured down his throat, which ſuſtained his life, and in ſix or ſeven days he recovered his ſenſes: for, you muſt know, that wounds are almoſt to a miracle cured in the Indies; unleſs wounds in the legs, which they rarely ever cure.

When he was well enough to ſpeak, we talked to him, and aſked him ſome queſtions about his wife, and the reaſons why he killed her; and he then told us what I have related of that reſolution, and of his parting; and he beſought us that we would let him die, and was extremely afflicted to think it was poſſible he might live: he aſſured us, if we did not diſpatch him, he would prove very fatal to a great many. We ſaid all we could to make him live, and gave

him new assurances; but he begged we would not think so poorly of him, or of his love to Imoinda, to imagine we could flatter him to live again: but the chirurgeon assured him he could not live, and therefore he need not fear. We were all (but Cæsar) afflicted at this news, and the sight was ghastly: his discourse was sad; and the earthly smell about him so strong, that I was persuaded to leave the place for some time, (being myself but sickly, and being very apt to fall into fits of dangerous illness upon any extraordinary melancholy.) The servants, and Trefry, and the chirurgeons, promised all to take what possible care they could of the life of Cæsar; and I, taking boat, went with other company to colonel Martin's, about three days journey down the river. But I was no sooner gone, than the governor taking Trefry about some pretended earnest business, a day's journey up the river, having communicated his design to Banister, one of the council, a fellow of absolute barbarity, and fit to execute any villainy, but rich, he came up to Parham, and forcibly took Cæsar, and had him carried to the same post where he was whipped; and causing him to be tied to it, and a great fire made before him, he told him, he should die like a dog as he was. Cæsar replied, This was the first piece of bravery that ever Banister did, and he never spoke sense till he pronounced that word; and if he would keep it, he would declare, in the other world, that he was the only man, of all the Whites, that ever he heard speak truth. And turning to the men that bound him, he said, My friends, am I to die, or to be whipt?—And they cried, Whipt! No, you shall not escape so well.—And then he replied, smiling, A blessing on thee! and assured them thy need not tie him, for he would stand fixed like a rock, and endure death so as should encourage them to die: But if you whip me (said he) be sure you tie me fast.

He had learned to somke tobacco; and when he was assured he should die, he desired they would give him a pipe in his mouth ready lighted: which they did: and the executioner came, and with an ill favoured knife, cut off his ears and nose, and burned them; he still smoaking on as if nothing had touched him; then they hacked off one of his arms, and still he bore up and held his pipe; but at the cutting off the other arm, his head sunk, and his pipe dropt, and he gave up the ghost, without a groan or a reproach. They then cut him into quarters, and sent them to several of the chief plantations.

Thus died this great man, worthy of a better fate, and a more sublime wit than mine to write his praises; yet I hope the reputation of my pen is considerable enough to make his glorious name survive to all ages, with that of the brave, the beautiful, and constant Imoinda.

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